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ABSTRACT

The ten articles collected in this volume report on the socioeconomic status of Hispanics in America. They discuss trends, problems, and developments for Hispanics in these areas: education, business, technology, employment, media, economic development, foreign relations, immigration, and mental health. Titles (and authors) are: (1) "The Role of the Chicano Academic and the Chicano Non-Academic Community" (Tomas Rivera); (2) "The Hispanic Megatrend" (Roger Fridholm); (3) "The Hispanic Business Agenda" (Brian Dyson); (4) "Hispanic America, A Personal View" (Franklin R. Chang-Diaz); (5) "Employment Conditions for Hispanics in the U.S.: Occupational Segregation and Wage Inequities" (Lea Ybarra); (6) "Latinos in Film and Television" (Ricardo Montalban); (7) "Economic Development and the Hispanic Community" (Arabella Martinez); (8) "The Kissinger Report: A Hispanic-American Perspective" (Phillip V. Sanchez); (9) "Immigration" (Antonia Hernandez); and (10) "Selected Trends and Developments Related to the Mental Health Status of the Hispanic Community" (Juan Ramos and Celia Gonzalez Torres). (KH)

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The State of Hispanic America

VOLUME IV

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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The State of Hispanic America

VOLUME IV

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To Tomás Rivera,
whose life's work helped improve educational opportunities
for Hispanics

TOMAS RIVERA
(1935-1984)

Tomas Rivera was one of those Chicanos who forged paths: in Literature as a highly acclaimed Chicano poet and novelist, as an academician in higher education and as a mentor to other Chicano leaders. He was a member of the small vanguard of Chicanos who make history as "the first" of our people to hold significant policymaking positions. In history we can point out the first Hispanic U.S. Congresswoman, the first Hispanic State Supreme Court Justice, the first Hispanic astronaut, the first Hispanic Treasurer of the United States. Tomás Rivera became one of those "first Chicanos". He became the first minority to be appointed Chancellor in the University of California system when he took over the reins at the University of California at Riverside in 1979. But Dr. Rivera will not only be remembered as an academic leader, for he left his mark through his writings.

In the field of literature, Dr. Rivera was renowned as one of the foremost Chicano writers. His novel Y no se lo trago la tierra/And the Earth Did Not Part won the Quinto Sol Prize for 1970-71, a highly regarded award. His writings drew upon his life as a migrant student and worker, portraying the struggle and at the same time the richness of the family experience. In the words of his friend and fellow author, Felipe de Ortego y Gasca, "...while he lived, he did not receive the accolades he really deserved for his creative work from mainstream American critics and publishers. For in reality, he was an American writer...His work was in the university; his genius was in creative writing."

The National Hispanic University would like to express its sincere gratitude to Concepcion (his wife), Ileana, Irasema, and Javier, Dr. Rivera's family, for sharing him with the many, many people upon whom he has left an imprint as a true role model. Dr. Tomás Rivera lives in our hearts.

In recognition of Tomás Rivera's great contributions to the Hispanic community as a scholar, writer, family man, and role model for all Hispanic youth, this edition of The State of Hispanic America is dedicated to his memory.

THE SEARCHERS

Tomás Rivera

I

How long
how long
have we been searchers?

We have been behind the door
Always
behind screens and eyes
of other eyes
We longed to search
Always
longed to search

"naranja dulce
limón partido
dame un abrazo
que yo te pido"

We searched through
our own voices
and through
our own minds
We sought with our words

A la víbora, víbora
de la mar
de la mar
por aquí pueden pasar

How those words
lighted our eyes
From within came
the passions to create
of every clod and stone
a new life
a new dream
each day
In these very things
we searched
as we crumbled
dust, our very own
imaginary beings

Hey, ese vato, chíngate

A terrón lighted our eyes
and we watered it and made
mud-clay
to create others in

II

The search begun
so many years ago only
to feel the loneliness
of centuries
Hollow--soundless centuries
without earth

How can we be alone
How can we be alone
if we are so close to the earth?

Tierra eres
Tierra serás
Tierra te volverás

Una noche caminando
una sombra negra vi
Yo me separaba de ella
y ella se acercaba a mí.

¿Qué anda haciendo caballero?
¿Qué anda haciendo por aquí?
Ando en busca de mi esposa
que se separó de mí.

Su esposa ya no está aquí,
su esposa ya se murió
Cuatro candeleros blancos
son los que alumbran allí.

III

Death
We searched in Death
We contemplated the original
and searched
and savored it
only to find profound
beckoning
A source that continued the search
beyond creation and death
The mystery
The mystery of our eyes
The eyes we have as
spiritual reflection
and we found we were
not alone

In our solitude
we found our very being
We moved into each other's
almost carefully, deliberately

Had we been here before?
What do we have you and I?
Only our touch, our feeling
shared, that is all that we have
life in such ways, way
again, again, again
We found ourselves in ourselves
and while touching
we found other mysteries
that lay beneath
every layer of truth
unwinding each finding
another lonely vigil
another want, desire
to find
to find what?

What we always had?
Did anyone know that we
were searching?
That every look toward the earth
was a penetrating search that
had lasted for years
the mystery of time halted
and unknown without
itself discovery

IV

At night we searched each other
Somewhere was the soul
Somewhere in there was the heart
Somewhere in the night
was the lonely eye of the soul
Motionless
Waiting

Sometimes we found it
and slept with our lips
on it till the light fractured
everything

Can we find something every day
and every night?
We believed
yes, we had been finding
for centuries

v

Other beings?
We,
one,
the very same flavor
the very same
We looked behind heads
at the back of heads
The back of white heads
was less dangerous
Sometimes we turned the
heads around only to find
eyes that didn't see
who dared not see
who dared not be
within our own

No estamos solos.

V

We are not alone
if we remember and
recollect our passions
through the years
the giving of hands and backs
"dale los hombros a tus hijos"
We are not alone
Our eyes still meet with the passion
of continuity and prophecy

We are not alone
when we were whipped
in school for losing
the place in the book
or for speaking Spanish
on the school grounds
or
when Chona,
dear Chona,
a mythic Chicana
died in the sugar beet fields
with her eight month
child
buried deep within her
still
or
when that truck
filled with us
went off the mountain road
in Utah
with screams
eternally etched among
the mountain snows

We were not alone in death

VI

We were not alone in Iowa
When we slept in wet ditches
frightened by salamanders
at night
reclaiming their territory
and we
killing them
to maintain it as our--
then, our only--possession
or
in San Angelo
when we visited the desiccated
tubercular bodies of
aunts and uncles
friends and lovers

We were not alone
when we created children
and looked into their eyes
and searched for perfection
We were not alone
when taught
the magic of a smile, a kiss
an embrace each morning
and to feel the warmth
and quiver of a human
being

We were not alone
murmuring the novenas,
los rosarios, each night,
los rosarios we hoped
would bring joy and lasting peace
for Kiko
killed and buried in Italy in 1943
or
when we gathered each night
before bed
and waited
for the nightly sound
of the familiar cough
and the sweet/pan dulce
that it brought
Warm milk/pan dulce
opened the evening door
or
when we walked
all over Minnesota
looking for work
No one seemed to care
we did not expect them to care

VII

We were not alone
after many centuries
How could we be alone
We searched together
We were seekers
We are searchers
and we will continue
to search
because our eyes
still have
the passion of prophecy.

Permission to publish
granted by Mrs. Concha Rivera

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INTRODUCTION

Volume IV of the State of Hispanic America is being released by the National Hispanic University (NHU) in conjunction with its 3rd Annual Convocation on November 30, 1984, appropriately in Los Angeles, the major city of Hispanic America.

The 1980's were labeled as the Decade of the Hispanic. This volume is a midpoint report on the domestic socio-economic status of this specific ethnic group including external concerns such as inter-American relations and the issues of immigration. Herein are the thoughts and perspectives of experts in their respective fields of education, business, technology, employment, the media, economic development, foreign relations, immigration, and mental health as they seek to define the past, present, and future conditions of Hispanics. We thank each of the authors for their contributions.

May I suggest you read each article with care in order to acquire a fuller appreciation for the state of Hispanic-America. At the conclusion of each chapter, ask yourself whether any progress has been made by this ethnic body as the halfway point of the decade is reached. In some sectors, perhaps progress has been accomplished. In other areas, statistics reveal a worse situation in 1984 than in 1980. For instance, from 1980 to 1984, there has been a decrease in funds for bilingual education; the percentage of Hispanic high school graduates enrolling in four-year institutions of higher education has declined; the number of Hispanics living in poverty has increased; the figure of unemployed is higher; and we remain in the backwaters of socio-economic and educational development. It can, therefore be said that Hispanics, especially Hispanic women, are not better off today than at the start of the decade.

The content of Volume IV is Hispanic-America. Tomas Rivera, to whom the work is dedicated, embodied the attributes of Hispanic-America--the yearning to achieve, the desire for equal opportunity, the quest for knowledge, the hunger for justice, the love for life, the need to serve, the longing for compassion and understanding, the urge for a better and peaceful world.

From this midway report, we must move forward to what lies beyond. And it is in this regard where the National Hispanic University Center for Advance Studies and Policy Analysis can be most useful to the Hispanic population in this Nation and in Latin-America. The Center can serve as a resource where leaders and scholars can generate ideas and recommendations for the resolution of conflicts between people as well as governments. Moreover, a bilingual-bicultural setting is an excellent environment in which to articulate policy alternatives that could possibly mean the difference between war and peace.

The remainder of the decade poses great challenges for all. From the majority citizens must come tolerance and acceptance - from the Hispanics must come determination, vision, and courage. Together we need to create changes in attitudes and institutions so the free enterprise system can prosper and each person can reach their goal without unjustified restraints. Together we can initiate educational reforms, job opportuni-

ties, economic development programs, foreign and domestic policy recommendations, and finally, the conditions for a lasting harmony. The key to these initiatives is Education.

Because Hispanic-Americans are America's most emergent minority which needs to be clearly understood and respected as a growing and vibrant economic, social, and political power, the National Hispanic University is an essential institution to and within the community and merits our support; we need it to develop the educated persons who will guide us in the future.

The NHU is to be commended for its State of Hispanic America series, and for the excellent leadership it provides. May it always continue.

THE NATIONAL HISPANIC UNIVERSITY
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1. EDUCATION

Biographical Sketch of Dr. Tomás Rivera

Dr. Rivera was born on December 22, 1935 to Hispanic parents in Crystal City, Texas and was educated initially in local Spanish-language schools

He recieved a bachelor's degree in education from Southwest Texas State University and a doctorate in romance languages and literature in 1969 at the University of Oklahoma.

Dr. Rivera was an accomplished poet and novelist receiving the Quinto Sol Award for 1969-70 -- a coveted Chicano Literary award. He taught at Texas secondary schools and junior colleges, coming into close contact with the migrant student. Dr. Rivera went on to hold administrative position at the University of Texas at San Antonio. Dr. Rivera became the first minority and the youngest person to hold the post of Chancellor in the California U.C. System, heading the University of California at Riverside campus in 1979. Dr. Rivera died May 16, 1984. He will be sorely missed in the Hispanic community.

THE ROLE OF THE CHICANO ACADEMIC & THE CHICANO NON-ACADEMIC COMMUNITY

By Dr. Tomás Rivera

The relationship of the Chicano academic and the Chicano non-academic community is very important because of cultural, political, social, economical and educational reasons. It is important for both beings.

What has been the role and contribution? One could say simply that the role and contribution has been for the most part through a model. What model? The answer is confused for there are several models, all of which can be judged as good and bad. One could also say that the role as perceived by the community at large ranges from pendejo, tapao, or arrastrao (cachigranizo-roquenrolero as they say in Mexico) to that of intellectual. The role has probably been all of these. From the perspective of the Chicano academic the role would probably be the same, for surely we have called ourselves these names.

Without being self-serving, I believe that the Chicano academic has fulfilled a fine role and has contributed to the academy as well as to the community. The question must be posed again. What has been the role and contribution to date? I believe the Chicano academic has made at least two significant contributions. One, the Chicano has opened and sensitized the academy to a degree. This is no small achievement and very difficult to do to an institution that is almost a thousand years old and which has survived pressures from every constituency possible. Two, the Chicano academic has aided in providing accessibility, as never before, into the academy for the community. The Chicano community will never be the same again because of this. A professional and middle class has been developing quickly: It is a middle class that may not have immediate ties to the older Chicano community but one that has affinities and loyalties far beyond those expressed before. To a large degree this was accomplished by the role that the Chicano academic has played in raising the level of consciousness in Chicano students.

The Chicano academic has aided significantly in making the Chicano community a legitimate entity. By having a presence in the academy, the Chicano academic ensured the presence of a Chicano community in curriculum development, in more sensitive student services, in better accessibility for Chicano students and faculty, in basic and applied research, and in the establishment of centers of study that focus on the kindred group. The Chicano academic aided the Chicano community in establishing itself, which is what the community wanted. This was not and is not a leisurely task; and it will become more complex and difficult.

Another question. What are the expectations of the Chicano community for Chicano academics? If we agree that the Chicano academic serves as a role model for the purpose of legitimizing the community, then the community has expected much. These expectations can be outlined under one

word--leadership--all types of leadership: intellectual, social, political, cultural and economical. The Chicano community still has great faith in primary institutions and it still has much faith and pride in social secondary institutions as exemplified by higher education. It gains greatly psychologically when it sees its own human resource as part of the academy. This brings a sense of well-being. This also places a great amount of pressure on the Chicano academic. The Chicano academic and the community understand that the only hope for the betterment of the community is better education. The Chicano academic wants to succeed, but he or she wants the community to succeed too. Likewise, the Chicano community wants the Chicano academic to succeed. Both want progress and betterment. Both want victories. It is important, then, for Chicano academics and communities to begin to establish real goals, to clarify priorities, to sacrifice even more energies, to have confidence and faith in the new gereration of students and faculty and in the academy and ultimately in the total society.

What should be the role and contributions of the Chicano academic? He or she should first of all recognize the primary role of the academy. As a priority, it is most important to establish individual goals for excellence in teaching, research or creative activity and service to the academy. This is where the Chicano academic has the greatest possibility of success. This is what he or she has been educated and trained for. It is necessary that the Chicano academic establish a presence in the academy through excellence in these areas to offer an even better vision and service to the community. It is important that the Chicano academic work with the community from a position of strength. It is necessary that the Chicano academic work together with the community to define issues, plan strategies, and most importantly, prioritize and assign responsibilities for community development. Within this context, Chicano academics should define individual goals with respect to leadership roles within the academy and outside it and when possible, leadership roles within the community. He or she should be conscious that the roles, be they intellectual, political, cultural, educational or social, may change quickly and may have lesser or major importance at any given moment. Thus the Chicano academic must always be willing to change roles to those to which he or she is better suited and where there is a greater opportunity for being effective regardless of peer pressures. In this respect the Chicano academic should be fiercely individualistic and independent.

The Chicano academic, in order to fulfill a dual role of academician and community leadership, if he or she chooses, must maintain faith and will, based on historical precedence and tradition. Angel Del Rio, in his classic study of Spanish literature, states so well the preponderance of the Hispanic culture to dwell throughout centuries on the concept of a social democracy. The Chicano academic should keep in mind that his or her kindred group is not a newcomer to the processes of higher education. Recent generations within the body politic of the U.S. are now being educated in greater numbers but Chicano intellectual traditions reach back to Salamanca, to Lima, to Mexico City through the Spanish language and to such scholars and creative people as Nezahualcoyotl, Maimonides, Averroes, Seneca and Vives. Chicano academics have an intellectual precedence on

the American continent, to say nothing about the great and oustanding creative legacy of hundreds of years in Europe. The Chicano academic is a culmination of the Indo-Hispanic world that has evolved in the American republics as one of the world's greatest humanistic experiences--mestizaje. The Chicano academic is also part and parcel of the intellectual traditions of other European countries and their outstanding universities. Most important, the Chicano academic is part of the great American university and the concept of mass education (perhaps the noblest experiment that any society has undertaken). It is an outstanding fact to note that the U.S. has over 3000 institutions of higher education. American higher education evolved a unique concept for the rest of the world by creating the land grant university, wherein a specific mission became service to the community. So the Chicano academic is well positioned, well trained and educated to contribute to the academy as well as to the community.

The community is not developing as well as other elements within American society. It demands leadership in all areas. It has problems and situations that need short and long range attention and solutions. The litany seems insurmountable. It is well known by Chicanos and non-Chicanos. Only the Native American ranks lower than the Chicano in educational achievement at the elementary, secondary and higher education levels, and in the ability to aggregate material wealth as well as physical and mental well-being. A nascent political power within the Chicano community brings much hope, but it is still weakened by a not well educated mass. There are problems, such as immigration, that split the community. The community suffers from physical and mental stress. It increases demographically but the linkages and nets of influence which can aid in its development are far behind. In essence, the community gets more amorphous. Problems in unemployment, housing, civil rights,violence, mental health and so on are hindering a quicker development. But there has been a little progress, and there needs to be more.

The rest of this paper is divided into four sections:

1. Common elements of coherence of Chicano academics and the Chicano community,

2. The Chicano academic and the academy,

3. The changing Chicano community and its self-perception, and

4. Directions, goals, strategies for Chicano academics and their role within the Chicano community.

Elements of Coherence within Chicano Academics and the Chicano Community

As a minority and heterogeneous group, it is important for the Chicano to constantly seek elements of coherence within the context of the broader society as well as within the Chicano community. By national

public policy and by self-directed efforts the Chicano identifies with and is identified as coming from a specific community. Therefore the affinities to that community are constant. The Chicano academic shares many elements with the community. It is the place, the language and the values which have formed the first world view of the Chicano scholar. Even though he or she is part of academe, the following are part of his or her development and are common denominators among Chicano academics: the same community, for the most part the same working class parental background, the same mixture of language (Spanish, English, Calo). The community from which the Chicano academic comes has been formed or distorted by the same political and economic forces. The same social forces have shaped the will or lack of will. The Chicano academic shares a common historical precedence and a clear presence. The Chicano academic shares a similar familial organizational structure, in essence the same personal voice of personal relationships. On the negative side the larger society usually attributes a failure syndrome to the community as well as to the Chicano academic. This is far more negative than that which the Chicano academic attributes. In general, it is the culture of the community which prevails in the Chicano academic. In contrast with Ango colleagues, one need only go over the preceding list to ask or indicate that the Anglo counterpart is not as preoccupied with the community as the Chicano. This is so in part because his or her community is constant as a right, as an accepted element, as a given. The Chicano community, on the other hand, is seen as questionable, as an error, as secondary in importance.

Chicano academics as well as the community have gone and are still going through a decolonization period. Many Chicano academics will recall the early 1960's when Chicano students and faculty would turn their heads away, full of embarrassment when someone would speak in Spanish and there were Anglos around. Also, there were notions that Anglo professors were more worthy of respect than Chicano professors, that Chicanos should not organize, for that would mean self-segregation--the worst of all evils in a democratic society. Expressions such as the following still ring in my head:

> "We have to respect them."
>
> "Why must we segregate ourselves, why must we organize?"
>
> "There will be no school for the Mexicans beyond the eighth grade; they just don't have any aspirations for going to college."
>
> "What are you doing getting a degree in English? Why don't you study to teach Spanish?"
>
> "Say it in English."
>
> "You got it made studying in Spanish. It's kind of immoral isn't it, to study what you already know?"

The Chicano academic must hold on to all the common denominators with the original community, for it's there that the sense of being and will are located. The community for the Chicano is the constant right, the accepted element and the given. Chicano academics without a tie to the Chicano community have very little. The intellectual precedence and transfer of culture demand a place of origin. This is where Richard Rodriguez is wrong and why he feels lonely and isolated.

The Chicano Academic and the Academy: Contrasts and Struggles, Reason and Faith

The Chicano in academia is a dichotomy, a quivering contrast with a judge-penitent attitude, who seeks answers for humanity, hoping somehow that what he or she effects does reach the community from whence he or she came. The Chicano lives in contrasts (como una salamandra) between the world of ideas, creativity, knowledge forefronts, and the realities of political and economic anemia of his or her community and a strong desire to change it. But Chicanos are just a bit more contrastive than their colleagues. Academics are contrastive people, period. They tend to be a tense group, at times timidly apparently awaiting absolution, in an environment of reasoned struggles and filled with reason and faith. Within the institution, academics seek ideal perfections and gain comfort in structuring, knowing full well that termites can outdo them (with elegance) with their fecal droppings. The academic knows full well that outside the walls there exist imperfections and glaring errors. Inside, everything is rationalized--from racism to nuclear weapons, from Coors boycotts to disallowance of student evaluations, and even parking permits or tickets. Still, society provides. The Chicano academic partakes and becomes involved in the process, as he or she should. He or she is educated to survive the struggle. Society expects it.

> Today in our society certain fundamental struggles are under way. In academia this is reflected as a consequence. An example is the tension between technology and science on the one hand and the humanities and the arts on the other.
>
> Some twenty years ago, C. P. Snow gave his famous lecture on "The two cultures and the scientific revolution" wherein he recognized that the two cultures of the sciences and the humanities were separated seemingly by an intellectual and spiritual ocean.
>
> We have in our country a potentially disastrous condition. If our society were to become a society dominated by science and technology to the exclusion of the sense of history, social sensitivity, a spiritual aspect, or the creative arts, this certainly would be the case. This decade may see the emergence of machine intelligence. Science and technology have the capability to blur traditional distinctions between machines and human beings. The humanities and arts struggle

> to keep the human side dominant. They do so by pointing out the limitations of method, the exceptions to the law and the importance of intuition.
>
> What is unique about the university's relationship with the humanities and art, and science and technology is that the university's people insist on mixing things up, getting into the history of art, the social significance of the theatre, and so on. The university not only forces the humanities and arts, science and technology into contact with each other, but into contact with other fields of study --the aesthetics of engineering, the morality of law, the social psychology of medicine. The university is the place where studies count the most when they are done in relation to each other, where skills are acquired and utilized not as techniques but with concern for their meaning, effects and consequences.
>
> Developing this special relationship between the university and the humanities and the arts or with science and technology, or bringing diverse specializations together, is never done easily and always done imperfectly. It is a struggle, and the fact that it is a struggle, involving the most serious elements of the university, working through the most consequential problems, is perhaps the best reason of a university (Martin, 1982).

The Chicano community has in the Chicano academic a well trained element in this respect.

> In learning theory there is what is called the perturbational theory of learning, meaning that creativity is encouraged and growth comes best out of tension and differences. Clearly the Chicano academic is part of this growth. As an educator he or she has structured struggles, has factored it to a personal equation, has relied on adversity and diversity of opinion and differences of perspectives to benefit everybody. Such is the cornerstone of the case of diversity in education. The well-being and advancement of society, educated people believe, requires a place where basic assumptions are examined, where alternatives are created, where minds weigh options; a place where schools of thought are developed, where social, political and moral ramifications of thought are tested (Martin, 1982).

This is the work of the university. This is the work of the Chicano academic.

> Society for its own sake, designates the university as a place where monumental struggles are not only tolerated but encouraged. Society delegates to trained minds the responsibility to think the unthinkable, regularly, so that on those occasions when society must assess its position and change direction, it will have resources for the task. (Martin, 1982)

The Chicano academic should be considered by the community as that type of priceless resource. The Chicano academic is a trained mind. That in itself is an original element of positive power and strength.

The Chicano Community: Its Perspective

From every perspective the Chicano community is changing. Studies indicate that it is basically an urban society, young and aggressive. Demographics indicate an accelerating population. The predictions of the early 1970's that there would be, by 1990, a total of seven cities on the U.S. - Mexican border with a population of more than a million have almost happened. Clearly by the year 2000 (that's only a generation away) there will be a total of 14 cities within the border of the U.S. with a population of more than a million Chicanos/Hispanics. Ten of these will be in the American Southwest.

The Chicano community is a pluralistic society. It is a society in development, at different stages of educational, cultural, political and economic evolution. Yet there still persist some myths. The commercial and marketing opportunities that the community represents for business is fantastic. The business community now recognizes that the following are myths (Juarez, 1982):

- Hispanics are monolingual
- Hispanics use only Spanish
- Hispanics are an unsegmented market
- Hispanic men make all major household decisions
- Hispanic women do not work
- The Hispanic Market is only a temporary phenomenon due to unusually high legal and illegal immigration
- Hispanics will be absorbed into the American "mainstream" through language and cultural assimilation.

The corporate world has become increasingly interested in the Hispanic/Chicano population for future marketing reasons, and for control of these markets as part of their respective social action programs. In California, TRW, ARCO and FIBC have recently commissioned and completed reports dealing with the Hispanic/Chicano community.

The TRW/FIBC report done through SRI established the following:

1. Just about one in every five Californians is already Hispanic; and Hispanics will be the majority within a few decades.

2. Hispanics seek economic parity with Anglos on a community-wide, not just an individual, basis.

3. Hispanic and non-Hispanic leadership groups are frustrated with and angry at the failure of California's public school system to educate California's youth -- Hispanic and non-Hispanic.

4. Hispanics and non-Hispanics agree English is essential for participation in California's future on an equal basis.

5. Hispanics believe large portions of the media--including papers like the Los Angeles Times and well-known movie personalities like Cheech and Chong--are biased and selective in their reporting on and portrayals of California Hispanics.

6. Hispanics do not believe that either the Democratic or Republican party is interested enough in Hispanic objectives to accomodate Hispanic leaders within upper party echelons, to respond to Hispanic issues with a substantive party platform statement, or to organize Hispanic voters on a scale that would make them powerful.

7. Hispanics feel selectively cited for housing overcrowding vis-a-vis other immigrant groups, particularly Southeast Asians.

8. Hispanics see proposed cuts in human services as hurting them, but also, by ending programs that have acted as a buffer between Hispanics and the government, making vigorous political action much more likely.

9. Hispanics and non-Hispanics feel local government, including the State government, must stop enforcing the rules of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

10. Hispanics reject the idea that they must become exactly like Anglos in order to participate fully in California's economic, educational or political lives.

11. Both Hispanic and non-Hispanic leaders want to find solutions to problems, not encourage increased fragmentation. There are avenues that can be taken now and further avenues that can be vigorously explored. The time to commence action is now.

ARCO sponsored an Aspen Institute in July 1981 in Baca, Colorado, titled Hispanics and the Media. The basic recommendations and action agenda from that meeting stipulated the following:

1. Increase and upgrade the employment of Latinos in the mass media, especially in editorial, production, creative and performing roles;

2. Foster a balanced depiction of Latinos in the news and a fully human range of Latino portrayal in entertainment fare;

3. Encourage all media professionals to be sensitive to the many parts played by Latinos in American life; and

4. Set hiring and promotion goals: a manager's performance in meeting these goals must be made a factor in periodic review of his or her own salary and advancement.

The Southern California Research Council (Occidental and Pomona Colleges), aided by some 10 financial and industrial institutions in California, completed a study titled "Mexico and Southern California." Following are the general conclusions of that study (Southern California Research Council, 1981):

United States and Mexico Moving Toward a New Partnership

- Past relations between the United States and Mexico have been characterized by misunderstanding, conflict, and even open hostility.

- This legacy of suspicion is changing. Relations between the two countries may actually be taking a profound turn for the better.

Partnership Requires Mutual Understanding

- Mexico's destiny has always been closely linked to the United States, even though U.S. focus has been directed primarily toward the Soviet Union, Europe and Japan.

- Today, however, the United States finds its own future inextricably tied to Mexico's. Trade, energy and immigration are but a few vital issues linking our two countries.

- We will not find solutions to our mutual problems unless we do more than merely deal with current issues. United States-Mexico relations are a product of the past, and what we can do about them is limited by perceptions stemming from our previous history.

- Both the United States and Mexico expect, and deserve, to be treated with dignity, understanding and consideration by the other.

A Special Role for Business

- Efforts to strengthen diplomatic ties between our two countries are important, but strengthening economic ties need not wait for political accord.

- Indeed, it is economics and trade, more than politics and diplomacy that are improving U.S. - Mexico relations. The two countries need one another.

- The leading edge in U.S. - Mexico relations is business in the United States working with business and government in Mexico. Total trade between the two countries increased by more than 48 percent in 1980. U.S. private investment in Mexico is growing rapidly, and technology transfer agreements, maquiladora assembly plants, border transactions, and tourism are increasing rapidly in importance.

A Special Relationship: Southern California and Mexico

- Southern California is 50 percent more heavily involved than the rest of the United States in trade with Mexico. Southern California is similarly represented in other aspects of business and finance.

- Our common heritage, our long-standing trading relationships, our complementary strengths and needs, and our proximity create for Southern California and Mexico a special relationship.

The Human Dimension: Undocumented Immigration

- Immigration is a natural phenomenon when wage rates in one place greatly exceed those in another. Mexican immigration, in addition, is encouraged by geographic proximity, good transportation networks and social links between villages in Mexico with neighborhoods in the United States.

- The impact of undocumented workers on unemployment, wages, and social services in the United States appears to be minimal.

- Immigration of Mexican workers to the United States, despite certain serious problems, appears to be in the interest of both countries and the workers themselves.

- The present system of undocumented immigration, for all its shortcomings, works reasonably well. It is difficult to find any improvements that will be politically acceptable either in the United States or Mexico. The present system of undocumented immigration appears to be preferable to a complicated, bureaucratic guest-worker program.

A Shared Future

- The United States and Mexico face one another across the barrier of an international frontier, yet our cultures and economies are inescapably bound together and indeed flow into each other over that border. Nowhere is this more true than in the Southern California-Mexico border region.

- Both the United States and Mexico face serious problems, the solutions for which require cooperation. Pursuing our mutual self-interest demands that we understand our evolving relationship. We must also approach one another with respect, patience and in a spirit of partnership.

The preceding reports have one thing in common. They were prepared with specific goals to understand and guage the Mexican and Chicano potential as a market and as a common partner in business. The meetings that produced the reports were attended by Mexican and Chicano representatives. Therefore, the perceptions which were established were for the most part perceptions of Mexicans or Chicanos of their own communities.

One other report recently published is the report of the American Assembly on Mexican-American Relations. Among the many items discussed were trade and investment policies, energy, immigration, education, Mexico's role in the north-south dialogue and Central America, and specifically the Chicano community. The report states:

> The participants feel that United States-Mexican relations will be increasingly affected by the growing proportion of persons of Mexican descent in the U.S. population, particularly in the Southwest and border regions, and by public attitudes toward this segment of the population. Because of this, it is particularly important that people of Mexican descent in the United States have equal social and economic opportunities while being permitted to retain their rich cultural heritage. In this regard, bilingual education and other bicultural programs to enhance and increase social and economic opportunities and to promote a mutual understanding and appreciation of both cultures should be encouraged. Similarly, the majority of participants agreed that not only is it not mucually exclusive for Mexican origin persons in the U.S. personally also to learn English and participate in the American mainstream, but indeed, all peoples in the U.S. and Mexico would benefit from such progress.
>
> Given the tremendous growth already apparent and projected for the Southwest United States and Mexico, it is timely that we continue to develop a bicultural perspective which will make life better and more productive for all on both sides of the border (Regional American Assembly on Mexican-American Relations, 1981:10).

Directions, Goals, Strategies

The Chicano academic must do what he or she knows best. The first priority is to establish himself or herself as an authentic member of the academy. It is much easier and better to deal within the academy and in the community from a position of strength and authenticity. Professional development should be the number one priority. The Chicano community with its litany of issues and problems offers the Chicano academic every possible leadership opportunity. It is well that the Chicano academic guage carefully what his or her role can be. The Chicano community is vibrant, changing and demanding. The Chicano academic is a rich resource for the community, for the academy itself is a place of struggle and tension which prepares the Chicano well for articulating change.

The following are some general goals and principles for the Chicano academic and the community. They are divided into two categories, educational and political, but probably these two categories should be one and the same.

Individually or collectively, the Chicano academic should press strongly for the following within the academy, within his or her institution or system:

1. Establish dialogue between institutions of higher education in order to clarify missions, share responsibilities, break down barriers, remove perceptual problems and begin to develop an integrated process of education from K-University.

2. Establish collaborative efforts between colleges or universities which have a high density of minority students and those that have a low density.

3. Establish cooperative efforts between research institutions and teaching institutions in order to ensure that the most talented minority faculty and students are reached.

4. Establish well integrated cooperative efforts between community colleges, colleges, universities (public and private) that deal with remediation, basic skills, etc.

5. Accelerate the development of higher education councils (private and public) for the purpose of sharing resources, reviewing and studying economic development issues, and community development services.

6. Establish the accessibility of Chicanos into the academy (faculty and students) as the fundamental issue for the health of the total society which the institution serves.

7. Establish development programs for faculty, staff and management, that will raise the level of consciousness toward community development and student development.

8. Develop research that will define areas of commonalities among student populations.

9. Develop initiatives between the business community (Chicano and non-Chicano) and the university which will aid in the development of the Chicano community.

10. Ultimately, the responsibility for meeting the needs of students, faculty development, and indirectly, community development, is the responsibility of the chief executive officer of institutions of higher education. Sensitize and enlighten them. Help clarify for them the great need for development of the Chicano community. This community is of vast importance to the total society.

As for the political arena, it is important that the Chicano academic become involved in the political arena--at all levels--municipal, county, state and federal. The Chicano community does not yet have a strong public voice. Therefore it needs every voice it can garner. The voice should be intelligent, discriminating, judgemental. I believe Chicano academics have the potential to express such a voice. The Chicano academic should 1) seek to influence all levels of education, 2) encourage voter registration and participate vigorously in this endeavor, 3) enter into a non-personalismo leadership development, and 4) seek to define objectives for the Chicano community in conjunction with the emerging Chicano professional classes and with different elements of the Chicano community.

A strong political development for the Chicano community is necessary, but equally important, it should be a principled development. I believe this type of political development can be attained. The following are some principles that can effect and ensure this.

Some of these principles come from a speech by John Garner, which he titled The War of the Parts against the Whole.

1. The traditional and central functioning of government institutions is to reconcile multiple conflicting interests that cannot be reconciled elsewhere. The Chicano community must learn that it has that right.

2. As an organized group, the Chicano community should become more involved and more concerned. It should also be concerned with the health of the political process. In part, all too often, it has been satisfied with disorganized, incompetent and even corrupt government thinking. The Chicano community and the Chicano academic must remember that a weak and corrupt government will sell out to rival interest groups just as cheerfully.

3. The Chicano academic should encourage the community to assist the effective and equitable functioning of government. Our political processes are designed to preside over peaceful competition of conflicting interests and to reconcile those interests within the framework of our shared purposes with the nation.

4. The Chicano academic role and the perceptions and the desires for the Chicano community should not be simply centrifugal forces of interest. The Chicano community must not neglect Commonweal priorities--because it is part of the Commonweal.

5. The Chicano academic or the Chicano community should not regard compromise as betrayal although both must struggle fiercely.

6. The Chicano community is also the public, and it, as any other community, makes things workable or unworkable.

7. It is the responsibility of the Chicano academic and the Chicano community to develop and enhance their own potentialities. But this treasured autonomy and self-preoccupation also means that both should concern themselves with the common good. This is not idealism but mere self-preservation. The argument is not moralistic. If the large system fails, the subsystem fails. That is the reality. It should be understood that a society in which pluralism is not undergirded by some shared values and held together with some measure of mutual trust simply cannot survive. Pluralism that reflects no commitment to the common good is pluralism that ends in total divisiveness.

8. As a self-interest group, the Chicano community is part of the national life. It must keep its bargain with the society that gives it, as well as everyone else in our society, the freedom of the common good. It is important for the Chicano academic and for the Chicano community to reach out to other elements in American life to understand and to connect. There is power out there.

Closing: Reiterations

The priority for the Chicano academic should be to become a respected member of the academy through excellence in teaching, research or creative activity, and service. He or she will be able to deal better with all communities from a position of strength and will be more effective. The Chicano community needs leadership in many significant areas. Chicano academics can play any role they choose. It is important that the role be chosen carefully for effectiveness.

The Chicano community is changing drastically, expanding rapidly in numbers and becoming more amorphous. It is also becoming more vigorous. The Chicano academic should become part of the movement within the academy that is attempting to integrate philosophies and structures that will bring forth cooperative and collaborative efforts between all segments and levels of education from kindergarten through university education. This movement will surely affect the Chicano community.

The Chicano academic should get involved politically with the community. But the involvement should be principled. In the last analysis, the Chicano academic and the community will have to develop, as a priority, a

civic morality. A civic morality gives clarity of action plus power and strength that become constant. It is only through this type of correct action that one can hope to build a better community. Ni mas, ni menos*.

My last thought pertains to the Chicano student in higher education. He or she is the link to the community. It is in the student that the Chicano academic should implant all good and correct ideas. The Chicano academic knows what these are. It is from the student that the Chicano academic regains those constant original elements from the community. The Chicano student's eyes still flicker with the passions of prophecy.

*No more, no less.

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2. BUSINESS

INTRODUCTION: THE HISPANIC MARKET

The increasing competition in the private sector to attract a growing Hispanic market has motivated corporations to develop special marketing strategies. According to Mr. Ricardo F. Juarez, the Hispanic market is probably the most rapidly expanding one in the United States today. Mr. Juarez is President of Juarez and Associates, Inc., a Los Angeles-based research and management consulting firm to both public and private sectors specializing in international, national and local research on Hispanic populations. In November 1973, Advertising Age said, "The Spanish-speaking are a $20 billion U.S. market." In November 1979, Hispanic Business said, "The Spanish-speaking market is $30 billion plus." In February 1981, Marketing News said, "Hispanics spend more than $50 billion annually on consumer goods," and in May 1982, Time Magazine called the Hispanic market "a target that has an estimated $70 billion in purchasing power." This purchasing power is sure to become even more substantial as rising trends in income, education, and population continue.

The potential of the Hispanic market has recently been "discovered." Researchers, marketers, advertising agencies, large and small corporations, universities, and service firms are now actively beginning to scrutinize and court the Hispanic consumer through various media. Juarez and Associates has learned that, "Hispanic as consumers are highly responsive to those products and services whose firms make an attempt to reach them and fulfill their needs or desires and the scramble is on to catch their attention."

According to Antonio Guernica, co-author of Reaching the Hispanic Market, it is urgent that corporations begin marketing to the Hispanic community. He states, "the same opportunity that exists today for the advertisers to dominate their share of voice in product category with a limited investment will not be available to the same degree five to ten years from now." Brands that enter the Hispanic market early and sustain their advertising levels will retain a larger share of that market. Thus, "big business" will be increasing their market research, advertising campaigns and even product development based on the rapidly growing Hispanic consumer market.

The research conducted by Mr. Guernica on the Hispanic markets indicates that 31 percent of the total Hispanic population that is now between the ages of 18 and 34 will experience peak earning years during the 1980s. Additionally, many of the 13.1 percent of the total Hispanic population who are now teenagers will be entering the workforce and developing careers, with employment opportunities open to them which were not available in the past. It is important to note, however, as many demographers have already stated, that this new capacity for upward mobility should be reflected in the future median income of the Hispanic population.

There are approximately 15 to 20 million Hispanics in the United States. The diverse Hispanic market is segmented along a number of strada including national origin, geography, income, education, and language usage. Hispanics are not a single market, however, but there are at least three

different markets, despite bonds by language and religion. Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans are separated geographically and culturally, distinct not only in how they speak Spanish, but also in their ways of life. There also is the "Hispano" market--Hispanics native to the United States, whose ancestors lived here long before the arrival of General Motors or IBM. Hispanics from other Central and South American countries, as well as those from Spain, also are included in the census total. The 1980 census counted 8.7 million Mexicans, 2.0 million Puerto Ricans, 803,000 Cubans, and 3.1 million "Other Spanish," a group that includes Hispanics. Three out of four Mexican-origin Hispanics live in either California or Texas. About half the Puerto Rican-origin Hispanics live in New York State, and 59 percent of Cuban origin Hispanics live in Florida. The population of "Other Spanish" number over 50,000 in ten states: California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Lousiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, and Texas.

Because Hispanics are geographically concentrated, companies can reach a large portion of Hispanics by targeting just a few areas. Companies marketing to Mexican-Americans regard Los Angeles/Long Beach as a prime area. For Puerto Rican households, New York City is prime, and for Cuban-American households they target metropolitan Miami.

"The one demographic trend above all others that will mold the future of the Hispanic community through the 1980s and beyond is its numeric growth," report Guemica and Kasperud in "Reaching the Hispanic Market Effectively." A report published by the Center for Continuing Study of the California Economy projects that the Hispanic population will number 18.8 million by 1990 and 23.1 million by 2000 in the low-growth alternative, or 20.4 million by 1990 and 26.9 million by 2000 in the high-growth alternative.

This trend points to a continued boom in Hispanic markets, estimated already to have $70 billion in consumer spending power. Their growth rates, family orientation, language, and geographic concentration make Hispanic groups unique. They are not like non-Hispanic consumers, nor are they like each other. With the potential to grow 40 percent in a decade, with rising education, job status, and income, Hispanics will hold the attention of American businesses for years to come.

The following articles were submitted for this publication by the Chief Executive Officers of two major corporations regarding their views and strategies for capturing a larger share of the Hispanic market place.

Biographical Sketch of Roger Fridholm

Mr. Roger Fridholm was named president and chief operating officer of The Stroh Brewery Company in 1982. He succeeded Peter W. Stroh as president. His election to the presidency marked only the second time in the 200-year history of the family-owned brewing company that the post had been held by someone other than a Stroh family member.

Mr. Fridholm holds a bachelor's degree from the University of Wisconsin and a master of business administration degree with distinction from the University of Michigan.

Mr. Fridholm serves as a director and member of the Executive and Audit Committee of the Southeastern Michigan Chapter of the American Red Cross, and as a member of the Visiting Committee of the University of Michigan Graduate Business School. Mr. Fridholm serves as a director of The Stroh Brewery Company, as well as the Detroit Symphony Orchestra.

THE HISPANIC MEGATREND

By Roger Fridholm
Chief Executive Officer,
The Stroh Brewery Company

There is an old cliche that the only sure things in life are death and taxes. I doubt that many of us would dispute that -- especially the part about taxes.

But there is another "sure thing" that we often overlook. It is seldom as obvious as the other two. Most of the time we do not even give it a second thought. But it is just as certain, and just as inevitable as death and taxes.

What is this "sure thing"? Perhaps the Greek philosopher Heraclitus said it best: "Nothing endures but change."

Think about it -- I guess we could question whether it is a universal truth, but it sure makes a lot of sense. The National Hispanic University itself may be a prime example of this principle at work. Certainly it is a milestone marking our changing society.

A theme we hear and read about centers on a certain kind of change, one called a "megatrend". That term comes, of course, from the best-selling book of that title by John Naisbett. In his book Megatrends, Naisbett identifies ten sweeping changes affecting Americans today -- changes which are restructuring and transforming our society.

The irony of all this is that we seem to be in charge of and responsible for change, yet at the same time, we are surprised when it happens.

Surprised, yes -- but not powerless. We can clearly analyze and take responsibility for changes occurring in our society. In fact, we must accept that responsibility.

Perhaps we are surprised by some of the megatrends we are hearing about today. But I doubt that anyone is surprised by one very important megatrend. It is one with ramifications for all of us as individuals and for every institution in this country.

I am talking about the increasing acceptance by American society of the value of ethnic diversity in our culture. Americans of all backgrounds are identifying with their ethnic roots as never before. People are celebrating their cultural heritage, participating in a vertitable smorgasbord of multi-national, multi-colored, multi-ethnic and multi-traditional pride.

Detroit, hometown of The Stroh Brewery Company, has recognized the joys of ethnicity for years with our summertime Ethnic Festivals. Our downtown area is transformed as groups from throughout the city present their arts, their culture and their cuisine to the delight of all.

Such festivals are an example of how our nation is accepting and embracing cultural diversity as one of America's greatest strengths. It is a strength to be treasured and explored as a source of our country's future success.

We are no longer interestred in melting our backgrounds into a kind of bland melting pot. To be an American does not mean abandoning or denying the lands and beliefs of our forefathers. It means using the past to create the present for the best possible future.

Our splendid differences unite us through one very important priority: we are, all of us, Americans.

Fortunately for The Stroh Brewery Company, many of those Americans also like to drink beer.

You may have wondered why the president of a beer company is talking to you about megatrends. There is, after all, absolutely nothing new about beer. It is one of the oldest drinks in the world. It came along somewhere right after water and milk, and way, way before either the "uncola" or the martini -- though I know some martini-drinkers who would take exception to that claim.

I know for a fact that certain lucky Germans were drinking Stroh's beer as early as 1780. That was about the time Johann Peter Stroh started brewing his own beer at his small German hotel. It was his grandson, Bernhard, who brought the family skill to America. He opened our Detroit brewery in 1850.

The Stroh Brewery Company has been family-owned and family-operated ever since.

Of course, there have been changes since Bernhard Stroh fired up his small copper kettle to quench Detroit thirst. The greatest changes have occurred in the past three years.

Before 1981, The Stroh Brewery Company produced only three brands of beer, with Stroh's as our flagship product. We had one brewery, and offered our beer only in select areas. By then, however, we were very aware of the fact that our industry was changing.

Competition, which had always been intense, was increasing. Economics of scale meant that large breweries could serve the consumer quality beer at lower prices than small breweries. This trend was making it tougher for smaller, regional breweries like ours to compete.

The Stroh Brewery Company responded to this trend with two decisive actions for one important purpose -- survival.

The first step was our acquisition of the East Coast-based F. & M. Schaefer Brewing Company. This gave us additional brands under the Schaefer and Piels labels. It also marked our entry to Eastern markets.

But that was a baby step compared to the giant step we took a year later.

We purchased The Jos. Schlitz Brewing Company. It was, by any reckoning, a bold move. And, I am happy to say, a very successful one.

We inherited from Schlitz more than new production facilities, new brands, and a nationwide distribution system. We also received the benefits of dynamic personnel, progressive management planning and history of involvement which we intend to maintain.

That purchase also made us -- overnight -- America's third largest brewing company.

So there is a short course on our company's history, with the focus on how we responded to the forces at work in the beer industry. Now, as a national brewery, we recognize that we need to attune ourselves to national megatrends such as the growing Hispanic population as a cultural force in America.

Our recent growth brings us face-to-face with new communities in the South and West who are as unfamiliar to us as we have been to them.

We are now involved in territories with substantial Hispanic populations. If we hope to tell them about our products and about our company, we must speak the language.

And I am not talking about translating English language ads into Spanish. I am talking about our need to understand the economy, the politics, the arts, every facet of Hispanic culture today.

Our desire to learn makes our relationship with the Hispanic University one of both student and contributor.

As a contributor, we've demonstrated our belief in the University's potential within the Hispanic community. And it all begins, as you know, with education.

We are proud that Stroh has the opportunity to carry on Schlitz's early involvement with the Hispanic University. In fact, our consultant, Dr. Willa Benge, chairs the University's Advisory Board.

We are sure she is not alone in her opinion that the Hispanic University has the potential for becoming as well-recognized and academically respected as a Yale, a Howard or a Brandeis. Certainly the expanding

curricula and growing enrollment are very positive signs.

The success of this important endeavor is a tribute to the initiative and determination of everyone involved. These two qualities, initiative and determination, can well serve as cornerstones for the continuing development of The National Hispanic University.

Earlier I mentioned education as the key to career opportunities for the Hispanic community. But it is going to take more than that.

It will take vigorous effort by the private sector -- not only to make opportunities available to the qualified, but also to seek out and develop the qualified.

At Stroh, as part of our operating policy, we are making special efforts to include Hispanic and other minority-owned firms in our normal purchasing program.

We are also actively searching for qualified minority enterprises who can help provide us with the services that we need to do business - such as advertising.

As you can imagine, our rapid expansion during the past two years made it necessary to add staff members. As we looked for the right people to fill new positions, we paid particular attention to finding minority persons for those jobs.

We found that the pool of qualified minority candidates is a small one, far smaller than we had hoped. This brought home to us, more strongly than ever, that we must take an active role in training minorities. This training will be both external, such as in our support of the Hispanic University, and internal, so that our employees can be prepared for advancement within the company.

We encourage all corporations to evaluate their recruitment, training and marketing practices. After all, it is just plain "good business" to create opportunities, not just wait for them to happen. This holds true whether it is finding the right person for the job, locating a qualified supplier, or selling the finished product.

In the final analysis, we must not fear change. We must relish it and the opportunities it creates.

Let us welcome the new trend toward ethnic diversity.

Let us capitalize on the opportunity to create educational opportunity for all cultural groups.

Let us sharpen technical and management skills through public and private training programs.

Let us nurture minority enterprises to compete effectively in the free and open marketplace.

And if we do all this, then that enduring creature "change" will strengthen all of us.

Biographical Sketch of Brian G. Dyson

Brian Dyson is the President of the Coca-Cola USA domestic division and Vice-President of the Coca-Cola Company. A native of San Eduardo, Argentina, Mr. Dyson graduated from the Facultad de Ciencias Economicas in Buenos Aires.

Mr. Dyson is one of the top Hispanic corporate leaders in the nation.

THE HISPANIC BUSINESS AGENDA

Brian G. Dyson,
Senior Vice President,
The Coca-Cola Company

It is indeed an honor and a privilege for me to have this opportunity to address the Hispanic community through this excellent publication.

I am very humble and also very proud to tell you that I count as one of my greatest personal gifts the fact that I can claim a bi-cultural heritage, having been born in Argentina of European and British descent. It has been very important to me in my life. I believe that a bi-cultural background has afforded me a window of the world, a way to understand values of other people that is very important to me. It is precious to me. A very visionary person Marshall McLuhan years ago said: "The world is becoming a village." When you have a multitude of cultures and people interacting with each other, I think it is a great gift to have the benefit of that kind of bi-cultural heritage.

I can assure you that I will strive with everything that I have that my children will be good citizens in whatever country they have the good fortune to live and grow. But I do not want them ever to forget the benefit of a dual culture, because truly it promotes better understanding about people. Surely that is what the world is about now and will become even more so in the future.

As I thought about what I might share with all of you, the first thing that came to mind was what I did not want to talk about. I think that there is an important message for the business community in the '80s: the message to me and to my company is that, in turbulent times - such as surely will be the case in the '80s - successful businesses and business people must remain lean and flexible in order to thrive in an atmosphere, whether interests are 10% or 20%. The idea is to be flexible, and not go out on a limb on some character's glib prediction who won't be around when you get in trouble. So the concept then is stay loose, be able to move in any direction, and be ready to maximize opportunities.

Having dispensed with what I did not want to talk about, I then turn to what I should say. We at Coca-Cola U.S.A. are developing our Hispanic business agenda. Herein, I am going to briefly tell you how we are unfolding our agenda, so that the Hispanic community can make its own judgment as to whether we are addressing this issue as a faithful corporate citizen should.

In the first place, I want to make some boasts. Coca-Cola is sold in 155 countries around the world, in 80 different languages, and every day of the year 265 million people ask for this product. With the addition of our Allied Brands, such as Sprite and Diet Coke, our product is requested another 110 million times a day. The point is not made to say, "Look how

grand - look how big...." The point is that this is the product of a system. It is not The Coca-Cola Company that does that; it is the Coca-Cola system made up of over 1,500 independent autonomous bottlers around the world. They are the ones who actually produce and sell. The company, as a matter of fact, only directly owns probably fewer than 10% of that number.

These statistics are not held up as a mirror to reflect the accomplishments of The Coca-Cola Company. Rather these statistics show what community citizenship and involvement on a local level can build. We are not a multi-national company. We believe ourselves to be a multi-local company. And I think that it is extremely interesting if you allow me just a little anecdote of how that got started.

This product was first sold in this country in 1886 in Atlanta. It was only sold in soda fountains. And that was the only place that you could get it until the turn of the century in 1900, when three businessmen traveled to La Habana, where they saw people in the stands drinking pina colada out of a bottle. They thought they had a great idea, so they rushed back to Atlanta and went to the owner of The Coca-Cola Company at that time and said: "Look, Coca-Cola is a great drink, you can only get it at a soda fountain - why don't you put it in a bottle?" The owner thought that it was such a great idea, that they sat down and he drafted a document which gave these three gentlemen the right to sell Coca-Cola in practically all of the United States for a symbolic one dollar that never ever changed hands. The value of that transaction -- billions and billions -- was just cast away by that owner of The Coca-Cola Company.

The point I am making though is that our great growth and strength was due to an association of people who brought that singular stroke of innovation which enriched the company. And therefore, when you look at The Coca-Cola Company you cannot look at some monolithic structure; you must look at literally hundreds of local organizations around this great country and around the world.

As an example, if you go to Monterey, Mexico, you will find there a group of people who will stand up and will say: "Quien fabrica y vende la Coca-Cola en Nuevo Leon es la familia y la organizacion Barragan". And in the same way if you go to the interior of Brazil a gentleman and his family named Milton Insuela Periza would say: "Eu sou o fabricante a Coca-Cola no Mato Grosso."

So understand we are a supplier of raw materials and with great luck we form very close relationships as partners. But is only our partners who are the face, substance and fiber of Coca-Cola around the world. And that joint venture approach was pioneered decades ago before the concept of joint-venturing was even known! That is the symbol of our strength. As a result of that joint-venturing the Coca-Cola system is involved all over this country and all over the world through its local bottler network and they are the ones who are working with communities and hiring local agencies.

Now, that is what is going on at the local level. What Coca-Cola U.S.A. strives to do is to give an overlay through its national programs. That is what we are all about at Coca-Cola U.S.A. And for over a year now Ricardo Amundsen-Bueno, Director of Hispanic Markets has been instrumental in the building of our Hispanic business agenda. Through his efforts the random activities that were conducted by different bottler groups and indeed by our company relative to the Hispanic community were to be pulled together in some coherent form. He was ably supported in that effort by a major Hispanic owned advertising agency, Castor Spanish International, headed by Castor Fernandez.

So both of these gentlemen prevailed upon me to go forward and said, "What we need is a proper plan looking down into the '80s so that we can develop our program." And as a result of that we recently undertook a national study of the Hispanic market conducted by Miss Marife Hernandez, President of the Cultural Communication Group.

This study was commissioned to find the issues and concerns related to the Hispanic market of various cities around this country dealing with consumers, retailers, and community involvement. People were asked, "Tell us what you think about Coca-Cola. How do you believe that it is addressing your needs in the greater sense? Is Coca-Cola a responsible social citizen willing to pay its social rent? That study has been of great benefit in shaping our efforts in the Hispanic community. Coca-Cola, U.S.A. is prepared to make the study public to any other major U.S. corporation that is sincere in its activities towards the Hispanic community.

Let me share with you just one little example of what we learned from that study. The Hispanic community has a high regard for education. It was felt that the greatest asset for self-development, for economic development that any person can possess is a good education. Many material losses can be sustained in life, but a good education gives people a chance for a better life. With that in mind, education was viewed as a a major need in the Hispanic community, that serves as a first step toward achieving real economic development. In response to that need, The Coca-Cola Company has established an Hispanic education program geared to keeping children learning and in school in major Hispanic cities across the United States.

I am pleased to report that 1984 has marked an auspicious beginning for this effort. It is part of a series of programs that we are putting together. In summary, this particular education program, together with all of our other commitments towards advertising, media, promotions, development, purchasing and other ventures in 1984 form a commitment well in excess of ten million dollars to the Hispanic community.

We are starting out on what we believe is a very important Hispanic business agenda, that in 1984 alone will be in excess of ten million dollars. We believe that we are just starting. We have a lot of things that we need to learn and test, but we are absolutely committed to doing it.

Now, just to close, let me say that we believe that we have our Hispanic business agenda. We believe that all U.S. companies should have addressed the same point. We believe that there is something in the effort which the Hispanic community is making to formulate a business agenda in the '80s that presages the importance Hispanics will have now and in the future.

It was a very well known Spanish philosopher who said that those who do not understand the past are condemned to repeat it. We feel that our company has looked back to the past, has decided that we needed a comprehensive plan and has the fortitude to stand up and make a commitment, establish an action plan and to share that information with any other company that so feels and sees and understands the vision of that future growing market. We are totally committed to this kind of development. We seek a partnership with the Hispanic community.

Partnership is what made us great and what will keep us great in the future. The Hispanic community has its own Hispanic business agenda; so do we. We believe that we can bring them together because partnership is the very core of what The Coca-Cola Company is about.

And I would say just as a very mild admonishment to any other American business that I think they should look very seriously about their own commitments to such an important market from which they so greatly benefit. And that they should do it soon, because I think the Mexican expression is: "Camaron que se duerme se lo lleva la corriente."(The shrimp that sleeps is swept away by the current.)

We, with our own Hispanic agenda join hands with yours.

3. TECHNOLOGY

Biographical Sketch of Dr. Franklin Chang-Diaz

Born in 1950, Dr. Franklin Chang-Diaz is a native of Costa Rica, who came to the United States to realize a life long ambition of working in the space program. Dr. Chang-Diaz received his Bachelor of Science degree in mechanical engineering at the University of Conneticut in 1973, and his Ph.D. in applied plasma physics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1977.

Dr. Chang-Diaz became the first Hispanic to enter the astronaut ranks when he was accepted as a candidate in 1980. He was chosen as a support crew member for the first space-lab mission. Dr. Chang-Diaz expects to be onboard the space shuttle as a mission specialist in early 1985.

Dr. Franklin Chang-Diaz is an inspiration to all youth that "Si se puede!" (It can be done).

HISPANIC AMERICA, A PERSONAL VIEW

By Dr. Franklin Chang Diaz,
Astronaut,
National Aeronautic and Space Administration

INTRODUCTION

After fifteen years of living in the United States, I feel nothing but deep gratitude for this nation and its people who have given me everything I now have. My experiences in these years have been many. Some good, some not -- but all were genuinely American. I am attempting here to put these experiences into some sort of personal perspective, hoping that I may be able to help others who continue in their efforts to advance in their fields, or who struggle to achieve positive social changes.

I must stress that these are my personal opinions and views. The subject matter is, in fact, somewhat removed from my line of work. There are little or no statistical data or independent studies to be cited. Instead, I had hoped to put in writing my own "American experience"; something that for me, continues to be most amazing.

THE RAW MATERIAL

One of the most striking things I have observed in my travels through South America is the ever present crowd of local people lining up at the doors of the American embassies and waiting patiently through the tedious paperwork that may eventually lead to a valid visa to emigrate to the United States. In Costa Rica, for example, the waiting list is more than two years long. I dare to guess that in other Latin American nations, the situation is not very much different. In some ways, it is ironic that so many Latin Americans want to come to the United States, given the less than positive image we Americans have in those southern latitudes. Nevertheless, in these southern regions, where the few opportunities available are only accessible to those who also control the wealth, the Latin American crowds outside American embassies stand as a silent reminder that the United States is still very much a land of opportunity.

I have often asked myself, "Why did that portion of the New World encompassing what is now the United States develop in such a different direction from the rest of the southern republics?" It seems strange that such a thing would happen, especially given the fact that the South was discovered and colonized at least one century earlier than the territory which became the United States. This is, admittedly, a complex question. One differene, however, gives a clue to the real "catalyst" that allowed American society to prosper far ahead of its neighbors to the south. That "catalyst" is the unique character of American motivation.

To be sure, a native Indian population existed throughout the New World. However, South and Central America, and to some extent Canada, were eventually populated by European conquerors claiming the land for powers overseas. In contrast, the United States was populated, not only by numerous Indian tribes, but also by impoverished immigrants who came to make this their land. These immigrants quickly severed ties with the Old World, and set an example for the rest of the continent. Others, who were later brought here as slaves, ended up having more of an impact in the shaping of this nation than did their native counterparts in the lands from which the slaves were taken.

The influx of immigrants into the United States has continued virtually uninterrupted for hundreds of years, and continues to this very day. This steady stream of immigrants injects into our society a refreshing breath of new ideas, motivation, dynamism and adventure. We, as Hispanic Americans, are, in fact, very much a part of that rejuvenating energy in American society.

So today, as I enter American embassies, generally escorted by United States diplomats and other high government officials, I cannot help remembering years ago when I, too, stood in line and waited patiently for that precious visa which someday would open for me the doors to the American dream.

OBSERVERS, USERS AND CREATORS

Often, I observe the typical tourist family from Latin America as they chatter in a language which evokes so many memories and becomes music to my ears. As playful observers of our technology, they make their first attempt to use its products and experience a newly acquired abundance of product choices. The initial result embodies many of the contradictions of our technological development. Women, with designer jeans and incredibly high heels, tortuously walk the one or two mile tour of the Johnson Space Center. Men in their Adidas jogging outfits smoke filtered cigarettes, and overweight children chew gum and wear stiff blue jeans, calculator watches and Polaroid cameras. They will all soon go back to their home towns in Latin America to show off their "wares," thus earning the respect and envious admiration of their friends and families.

The infusion of fashion and technological gadgets into Latin America is like taking vitamins while skipping meals. It is not just ineffective but detrimental. Often confused with technology transfer, this infusion of fashion and technological gadgets into Latin American society has a profound effect in modifying the social conduct and mores of the people of Latin America, to say nothing of the rest of the Third World. On the other hand, these nations have had little or no effect on the forces that shape technological innovation. The people of Latin America and the Third World have been mere "observers" whose only feedback to the developed world is in the quantity of technological consumption.

One example can be drawn from the energy outlook of many Latin American nations. Costa Rica, for instance, has cheap and abundant hydroelectric

but all of Costa Rica's oil must be imported. Imported oil, together with the small size and mild climate of the country, would make simple electric autos a very interesting possibility. However, the transfer of raw technology which could be adapted to the conditions in Costa Rica, and which could materialize this possibility, does not happen. Electric autos being studied in the United States, Europe and Japan are still being judged on the assumptions of large distances, adverse climate and expensive electricity.

Instead, real technology transfer involves imparting raw technological know-how to a country so that it may be tailored by its people to meet their specific needs. Technology transfer is: communication and remote sensing satellites, computer technology, innovative energy production and conservation techniques. These are examples of technology by which Latin Americans can make the transition from the role of "observers" to that of "users."

Slowly, but surely, this transition is, in fact, already taking place. Mexico's Morelos Satellite System (named after Jose Maria Morelos Pavon, a hero of the Mexican Revolution) is a case in point. It is a system of two geostationary communications satellites to be placed in orbit in 1985. The Morelos System will provide a massive program of rural education via satellite as well as an ambitious data transfer network which will tend to link and optimize Mexico's production centers with the real demands of the Mexican market. Similar systems are contemplated for Brazil, the five Andean Pact Nations (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia) and, perhaps, the nations of the Caribbean Basin, if and whenever, the fighting ends.

For Hispanics in the United States, the situation is somewhat different. To us, being technologically sophisticated is a matter of survival. We are technology "users" from the very moment we are born, or set foot in this land. It is, therefore, imperative that we become proficient with the tools of technology, and that we use them wisely. But it is more important that we learn to steer the development of new technologies into a direction that will benefit us and other Americans. This is how we go from being technology "users" to being technology "creators." This transition is possible if Hispanics have access to the basic tool of technology -- education. A fertile, evolving society is one which nurtures and ensures such access to immigrant groups.

Throughout my high school and college years in the United States, I used to marvel at the quantity and variety of educational opportunity existing around me. Such advantages were very much absent from where I had come. It was most striking, however, to see the lack of interest shown by many of my classmates towards these opportunities. It was as if life had been made so easy that it was no longer challenging; or worse yet, that their self-motivation had been eroded by the over-abundance of financial and physical security. This prosperity had the additional effect of undermining young people's confidence in their ability to pursue dreams and goals. At times, I felt alone and wondered if they knew something I did not. Other times, I felt the whole world was waiting to be conquered.

To be sure, the environment of challenge and intellectual adventure that surrounded me in the United States was like a powerful drug. In

another country ideas would have remained buried in my mind, while I met the basic needs of subsistence. Being in this country provided me the right setting for ideas to suddenly come to the surface. It was then that I began, cautiously at first, to turn my imagination loose. I began to think about new things, to look beyond the provincial ways in which I had been raised in Costa Rica. I began to acquire a more global perspective.

I think it was during those college years that I began to move away from the role of "user" in an attempt to make my very own technological contribution, however small. I have enjoyed every minute of it.

In that sense, I have always felt that the true richness of this nation lies not in its natural resources, but in its people. To me, it would be catastrophic to stop the flow of immigrants to this country. It would be like severing the vein that feeds America. It would lead to stagnation.

BARRIERS

Every Hispanic knows that language is one of the most difficult barriers to overcome in blending with the rest of American society. And yet, it is absolutely necessary to overcome that barrier. The ability to communicate is not just essential for our survival, but it is the most important means that we have to understand what it is to be American. It is important to understand that the software that controls the mechanisms of our society is written in English. Our attempts to rewrite it in Spanish are commendable, but futile... we must learn English!

When I entered high school in the United States, I was placed in the English Orientation Program. Had I stayed in that program, the results would have been dismal. Virtually everyone around me in class spoke Spanish except, of course, the teacher, and needless to say, nobody ever talks to the teacher!

The same problem exists in the Hispanic community at large, and with more devastating results. The problem arises when communities segregate and Hispanics become physically separated from the mainstream of American life. This separation is a natural result of not only ethnic background, but also economic conditions. The net result is a bad one: large Spanish-speaking neighborhoods where the incentive to learn English is low, and a school system within the neighborhood where everyone but the teachers speak Spanish. Hence, there is poor academic performance, few Hispanics going to college, and fewer still becoming successful professionals. Those who become professionally successful quickly move away, leaving the community's original conditions essentially unchanged.

We are slowly departing from this sad predicament thanks to programs of equal opportunity and to extremely dynamic Hispanic groups fostering technical and scientific careers for the young throughout the nation. Resource centers for science and engineering throughout the United States and Puerto Rico, as well as organizations bearing names like MESA (Math

Engineering Science Achievement), and MAES (Mexican American Engineering Society) are tackling the problem with remarkable effectiveness. Moreover, we now have in the United States our very own National Hispanic University, an institution of higher learning stressing technical careers. I feel happy to see that, although there is still much to be done, we are moving in the right direction.

Ironically some of the pieces of legislation, namely equal opportunity and affirmative action, which help us break the vicious cycle of poverty and ignorance within an affluent society, have also created the stigma of "tokenism." Subtle as it may be, tokenism can have negative effects on professional relations with one's peers. Work performance must be of superior quality in order to gain the implicit confidence of superiors and colleagues.

On the other hand, "tokenism" may, in fact, be a blessing in disguise -- it pushes us to excel. The danger, however, lies in the less than adequate performance of mediocre people who happen to be Hispanic. Their failings tend to have greater weight in a negative way, and tend to push the balance of attitudes towards Hispanics in the wrong direction. In the rest of the work force, mediocrity exists equally. But it affects only the individual; that is, unless he or she looks different, speaks differently, or both. Generalizations and stereotypes are some of our worst enemies.

And yet, though we are faced with these challenges and double standards, how can we as Hispanics give up our precious identity?

OUR TECHNOLOGICAL SOPHISTICATION

Hispanics have historically been influenced by two very strong forces: military conquerors and the Catholic Church. I have already referred to the role played by military conquerors. As the other influential force, the Catholic Church provides yet another clue to the different developmental paths taken by the United States and Latin America. Many of the missionaries who came along with the military conquerors tolerated no deviation from accepted church dogma. A veritable wealth of Indian knowledge in the form of books and other manuscripts was considered heretical by many Catholic missionaries, and was quickly destroyed; thus, the cultural richness of the Maya, Inca, Olmeca and Toltec civilizations in Mesoamerica was forever lost.

This atmosphere of cultural destruction and subjugation stifled the growth and development of a free thinking society. It led to a sense of insecurity that persists today. Understanding this sad situation, so deeply rooted in our past, is the first step towards changing our attitudes.

Once a year, during the observance of National Hispanic Week, I participate in educational programs on technology, space and the future, given at the Johnson Space Center and elsewhere. I also take part in radio talk shows with public interaction. Two years ago Jose R. Perez (also of

NASA) and I spent two hours on the air at a radio station taking telephone calls and answering questions on the Space Program. We were distressed and somewhat shocked to find that ninety-nine percent of the questions were on two subjects: UFO's and nuclear war. I realized that speculation, superstition and fear are still very much with us. I went home that evening trying to think what would be the best way of generating interest in the more practical and immediate technological issues facing us. I must confess, to this date, I have found no simple answer. It is going to take time and a lot of hard work.

Gabriel Garcia Marquez in his novel, Cien Anos De Soledad (One Hundred Years of Solitude), evokes a subtle note of the Hispanic's scientific frame of mind. In the story, science revolves around magic, and the gypsies who travel with the circus are the possessors of immense knowledge about the nature of things. Jose Arcadio Buendia, the central character, spends his last years trying to study the writings of Nostradamus and to uncover the secrets of the alchemists. One day, when the gypsies are in town, he takes his son Aureliano to the Central Plaza to see ice for the first time.

I remember quite clearly the day Sputnik-1 went into orbit. I found out about the launch from my mother who, in spite of her lack of formal education, has always been intrigued by science and technology. My parents' perception of what was important was reflected in the toys I got for Christmas. They were not toy guns and cowboy outfits, or battery operated cars and trucks. They were erector sets with real nuts, bolts, pulleys, gears and electric motors (so I could build my own cars or trucks, or whatever else I wanted). Among my most cherished toys were a Galena stone powered radio which I had built from a kit, and a 40 power optical telescope which my parents gave me when I was about ten years old. Being able to actually see with my own eyes the mountains and craters on the Moon was an experience I will never forget.

Clearly, to me, it is important to educate the general public to be technologically sophisticated. We often concentrate our efforts on the young, but the young get their first real guidance from their parents and elders. Adults control the toys with which the child plays and the television programs the child watches. Adults can offer encouragement in times of academic difficulty....we must educate the parents!

SHADES OF BROWN

We Hispanics are regionalist people and become more so the minute we enter the boundaries of the United States. This regionalism is an understandable effort to attempt to find some sort of identity in the apparent chaos of a new environment. I always found it commendable, albeit ironic, the way in which American immigrants spoke of the lands from which they had just arrived.

For example, in my early years in the United States, my Hispanic high school classmates would boast of the educational systems in their home countries, and the greater degree of culture existing in South America.

It was impressive, indeed, to find out how many of them claimed to have come out of private Catholic schools and to have descended from "pure" Spanish blood. Perhaps it was nothing but wishful thinking, an unconscious longing for the roots left behind, and a concerted effort to start anew, but to do so from a more positive past. Nevertheless, the picture which they portrayed, with some faint touches of bigotry, was one of refinement and economic abundance. I would ask myself: "If it was so good back home, why are they here?" And yet, I soon found myself doing the same thing; although, I must admit that claiming pure Spanish blood was a bit difficult.

Indeed, in Latin America, it is important to come from a "good family." An old Spanish surname can do wonders for a person's social and professional advancement, as can a high school degree from a private Catholic institution. European blood is highly desirable. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for the use of both father and mother surnames. With such cultural priorities, it is often difficult for new Latin American immigrants to realize that, fortunately, these unwritten rules do not apply in the United States.

Hispanic America is a melting pot within a melting pot. Yet, the differences within our very own Latin American culture are often not perceived by the rest of the American nation.

I have a hard time explaining to some of my non-Hispanic friends that, in a Mexican restaurant, I need just as much help as they do in odering dinner. I have acquaintances who still believe that Costa Rica is not an independent nation in Central America, but an island, and probably a Caribbean territory of the United States. A few years ago, after spending half an hour explaining to one of my friends the differences between Costa Rica and Puerto Rico, he replied jokingly: "You Ricans are all the same!"

Nevertheless, the great variety of culture and background within our ethnic group is a source of strength. It is extremely important to bring into this nation the richness of our different cultures. We are Caucasian and Black, Indian and Chinese, mulatos and mestizos....we come in shades of brown.

THE SOUTH

Simon Bolivar dreamed of a Pan American Federation, something similar to the phenomenon he saw happening in his time with the thirteen North American Colonies. His dream did not happen.

I could not resist taking some time and space in this writing to say a few words about the forces and events which will shape the future in South America. There are two reasons why I think this topic is important for Hispanic Americans. First, we as Americans comprise one of those forces, and second, in more ways than one, the future in South America is very much tied to our own. Surely, in the industrial world, we are the link to Latin America. Hence, we can not ignore the plight and struggle

of its people.

It is odd to see naturally rich countries like Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil and Argentina overwhelmed by tens of billions of dollars in foreign debts, much owed to the United States. The potential of Latin American economies is huge. Unfortunately, at the present time, so is their potential for blunder. Millions of people are out of work and live in substandard conditions. Such societies are prime targets for Communist ideologies. Something is clearly wrong.

In technologically advanced societies, Communism falls to pieces. As an ideology it may be sufficient to evenly distribute the available wealth, but beyond that, it is far too stifling and restrictive for the individual, and the society does not truly prosper.

We see this cultural and economic stagnation time and again in Cuba, and more recently in Nicaragua. Still, the events now taking place in Central America suggest that more of these small nations will fall to Communism. Their sad and unjust existence will be replaced by one that will become a social and technological dead end. There has to be another way.

At the same time, I often become annoyed watching the television coffee commercial about a smiling Juan Valdez, carefully picking those coffee beans one by one. Such a depiction of life in South America perpetrates the erroneous notion of a people who are happy with the way things are. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Juan Valdez I know of does not smile. He knows just how many coffee beans he must pick to be able to buy that television set. He must also think to himself...there has to be another way!

In South America, as is the case in most agrarian regions, there is a basic problem: labor intensive agricultural production just cannot pay enough to support a high standard of living -- no matter how efficiently land is distributed and used. As they are, these countries are economically doomed. As the famous Central American leader Jose Fiegueres Ferrer once said: "Tenemos que cambiar de escopeta (We need a different gun)."

The different gun is "technology transfer." Our future with our neighbors to the South is somewhat symbiotic. Transferring technology to South America means more demand for American equipment. This transfer brings greater revenues for South American economies, and greater revenues, in turn, benefit us through even greater trade. Better yet, such trade will then be healthy enough so as not to require the large quantities of borrowed capital which, more often than not, comes from our very own pockets. These are not new ideas, but they do need to be implemented.

An agrarian society can only maintain a high standard of living if it becomes mechanized and operates on a large scale. Labor intensive agriculture, no matter how efficient, simply will not do.

On the other hand, labor intensive high technology industries such as

computers and electronics will raise the standard of living. Such is the case in Japan, Korea and Taiwan. Massive education and training programs for high technology are the key to success.

The means for achieving such change are at our disposal now through high speed data delivery and retrieval systems, and advanced satellite networks with low cost, mobile receiving stations. These systems will readily access the most remote regions for training and education. They will also inhibit the unwanted population shifts that accompanied industrialization in earlier times. In that sense, the supply of human labor for cultivating the land will be reduced and will force the big landowners to mechanize. Arable land will no longer be an issue. If this happens, South America will be taking a shortcut in its development to a point where land reform will be obsolete.

But for all these grand schemes to solve complicated problems, there is always a starting point -- we must stop the fighting.

A LOOK AT THE FUTURE

Generally, the process through which Hispanic Americans advance in the American environment goes in levels or steps. At the "first level," we must contend with the problem of satisfying the basic needs, and obtaining enough economic and physical well-being to devote time to education.

The "second level" I would associate with the ability to attend college and become a professional. At this point, it is possible to take full advantage of the opportunities within the social structure. Moreover, it is even possible to make minor adjustments to the structure, so that others like us would have an easier time advancing.

The "third level" is quite diffuse and hard to delineate, but it represents that step at which we are able to steer the course of the nation. At this point, we must think more as Americans than as Hispanics. I hate to sound overly patriotic, but I must say, I have never heard of affirmative action and equal opportunity legislation enacted by governments of other countries, let alone South America. Perhaps such legislation will get there some day, as indeed it must.

On the other hand, here in the United States, we have made great strides in the advancement of Hispanics, and, in fact, all ethnic groups in general. Our enviable position in the world has been brought about by a few leaders with vision, as well as by a basic social fabric that stretches and gives without breaking. In that sense, we are still paving the way as we did over two hundred years ago.

Today, many Hispanics hold positions of influence. We are entering the "third level." We are now leading the world into space. A quick look at our Astronaut Corps shows a healthy variety which will, hopefully, be a sign of things yet to come.

As our influence increases so does our responsibility. Just as the

United States became a better country because of the immigrants that preceded us, so too it will be better still for those immigrants that will follow us. It is that remarkable ability to change and renovate itself that I most admire in our American society.

4. EMPLOYMENT

Biographical Sketch of Dr. Lea Ybarra

Raised in Sanger, California, Dr. Lea Ybarra received her Master of Arts and Doctoral Degree in Sociology from the University of California in Berkeley.

Dr. Ybarra has taught at Fresno State University for ten years and conducted research in Contemporary Political issues, Sociology of the Chicano Family, Chicano Studies and Contemporary Latin America. Dr. Ybarra is a sought after speaker combining her research findings with her community involvement.

Dr. Ybarra has received numerous fellowships, academic and civic awards, as well as being recently named Hispanic of the Year for Outstanding Service in Education by Caminos Magazine.

EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS FOR HISPANICS IN THE U.S.: Occupational Segregation and Wage Inequities

By Dr. Lea Ybarra

ABSTRACT

This statistical overview provides documentation of the serious employment situation which is facing Hispanic workers, particularly women and youth. As workers, they are considerably over-represented in the lower-status, lower-paying jobs. This creates a "cycle of poverty" which begins with low educational and work skills, and considering the relatively flat career trajectory Hispanics are tied into, ends in low wages and minimal occupational mobility. This maintains an inequitable career structure wherein Hispanics are paid less than White males, and Hispanic females are paid less than both White males and females and Hispanic males. While the labor force participation rate for Hispanics is similar to Whites, the unemployment rate is much higher for Hispanics, both male and female, than for Whites. These same inequities are faced by Hispanic youth relative to white youth. They have higher unemployment rates and lower wages.

Concentration in the lower-paying occupations, high unemployment and lack of mobility are not based on the lack of desire to work and to work in higher status occupations. The majority of Hispanics wish to do so and their LFPR indicates this. What seems to be facing Hispanic workers are factors of racism, low educational and occupational levels, and for women, the added burden of sexism -- all of which create a complex network of problems that hinder occupational mobility.

To change this pattern, steps must be taken to insure that the current trends of high dropout rates and low college attendance are reversed. Educational institutions, primarily elementary and secondary schools, must provide educational opportunities which are geared specifically to motivate and prepare Hispanic youth to enter higher paying and more mobility-oriented occupations, as well as the more non-traditional, higher status occupations. In particular, young Hispanic women need to be counseled into the professional, the more non-traditional and higher status occupations. This is important, not only because Hispanic women are underrepresented in these occupational categories, but also because more women in general are becoming heads of households, and they are too often relegated to below-poverty level status. Specialized efforts which meet their needs, such as more intensive counseling, educational and occupational recruitment drives, and availability of quality and affordable child care, would begin to alleviate the often restraining effects of poverty status on educational and occupational mobility. The pervasive problems of racism and sexism must also be continually addressed and legislation developed to deal with these issues must be enforced. Only if the diverse problems that exist in these areas are recognized and specialized efforts are made to address them, will there be a substantial change toward the development of Hispanic workers, from a largely underpaid and underutilized population, to an upwardly mobile, productive, and integral part of society.

Minorities and women are disproportionately underemployed as well as unemployed, according to a 1982 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report entitled, Unemployment and Underemployment of Blacks, Hispanics and Women. The disparities were evident in virtually all educational and age categories.

The forms of underemployment documented in the report include involuntary part-time jobs, over-education, inequitable pay, and poverty level pay. Minorities and women, when working, are more likely to be in marginal or low-skilled jobs and to have more education than is needed for their work. They are the ones who most often receive low wages and are frequently the "working poor." The Commission Chairman Clarence Pendleton stated that although discrimination in employment is illegal, their report provides strong statistical evidence to support the conclusion that it continues. They could find no other explanation for the persistent disparities.

The Commission found that even during periods of economic recovery, when employment opportunities increase, minorities and women continue to have relatively high levels of unemployment and underemployment, compared with majority males. From 1971 to 1980, the disparities remained large through good times as well as through bad. In assessing employment disparities by location and industry, the Commission said that although some attribute the high unemployment among Blacks and Hispanics to where they live and seek work, majority men "continue to fare better than other groups, regardless of where they live and work." The Commission also found that at every educational level, at every level of training and at almost every age level, Blacks and Hispanics generally experienced higher levels of unemployment and underemployment than majority men. Moreover, in many instances, the disparities were greater among workers with more education. "Increased education...helps everyone, but it helps majority males the most," the Commission said.

Some of the specific group findings cited in the report were that: compared to majority men, Black males were more often over-educated for their jobs and had greater difficulty translating their education into suitable jobs; Hispanic males were also more often over-educated for their jobs and were more likely to remain in poverty; Black females were more often in marginal jobs and constitute the group with the highest rate of workers in poverty; Hispanic females receive inequitable pay more often; and majority females are concentrated in a limited number of occupations with low pay.

Perhaps the real impact of employment and income disparities, and their wide-ranging effects can be more readily put into human terms when we look at the reduced ability of minority individuals to support themselves and/or their families, as a result of these disparities.

TABLE I. EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION BY RACE & HISPANIC ORIGIN

	1983			1984		
	White	Black	Hispanic	White	Black	Hispanic
Labor Force Participation Rate	64.1%	61.0%	64.4%	64.7%	61.9%	63.3%
Employment-Population Ratio	58.4%	50.2%	56.9%	60.4%	51.5%	56.0%
Unemployment Rate	8.9%	20.7%	14.6%	6.7%	16.8%	11.5%

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, USDL 84-204, May 4, 1984. (Table A-3)

Families in Poverty

Between 1981 and 1982, the number of persons below poverty level rose from 31.8 million to 34.4 million, an increase of 2.6 million or 8.1%. This was also the third consecutive annual increase in the number of persons below the poverty level. The poverty threshold in 1982, for a family of four was $9,862. White median family income was $24,600, Black family income was $13,600, and Spanish median family income was $16,230.[2] The median income for year-round full-time male workers was $21,660 and for women with the same work pattern, the median income was $13,660. The poverty rate was at its highest level since 1966, and the increase in poverty affected many segments of the population. Poverty rates increased to 12.0% for Whites, 29.9% for persons of Spanish origin, and 35.6% for Blacks.[3]

The effects of the recession were also visible in the work experience data for persons below the poverty level in 1982. There were 3.7 million poor persons fifteen years old and over who were unemployed at some time during the year, 14% more than in 1981. Of these 3.7 million persons, 2.5 million were unemployed fifteen weeks or more, an increase of 30% from 1981.[4]

Statistical Overview of Hispanics and Employment

According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, by the first quarter of 1984, the unemployment rate had dropped nearly three percentage points, from the 1982 recession high, to 7.8%. While jobless rates decreased for all groups, they were still higher for Blacks and Hispanics than for Whites. From 1983 to 1984, the unemployment rate for Whites dropped from 8.9% to 6.7%, for Blacks from 20.7% to 16.8%, and for Hispanics, from 14.6% to 11.5%.[5] No figures were available in the latest Bureau of Labor release for unemployment rates specifically for Hispanic women. (See Table 1.)

In 1984, Hispanics had relatively the same labor force participation rates as Whites (63.3% to 64.4%, respectively). However, the statistics from 1980-84 indicate that Hispanic as well as Black men who were employed were less likely than White men to work all year at full-time jobs. This was due, in part, to a concentration of Hispanic and Black men in occupations such as non-farm labor and operative and service jobs, where year-round, full-time work is less prevalent than in other fields. From data available for 1981-82, it is evident that White women were also more likely to have worked (58%), than either Black (54%), or Hispanic women (52%).[6]

There are fluctuations in unemployment rates from year to year but the pattern still remains the same. Traditionally, Black and Hispanic workers are more likely than Whites to experience some joblessness during a given year. For example, almost one in three Black workers and one in four His-

TABLE 2. WORK EXPERIENCE & EXTENT OF UNEMPLOYMENT BY SEX, RACE, & HISPANIC ORIGIN, 1980 & 1981

Extent of employment and unemployment	Black		Hispanic		White	
	1980	1981	1980	1981	1980	1981
MEN						
Percent of population who worked during year	70.1	68.6	81.9	82.1	81.4	81.1
Percent of employed with year-round, full-time jobs	56.4	58.8	61.1	61.4	66.2	65.2
Percent of those in labor force during year with unemployment	29.4	31.2	23.2	24.2	17.3	18.8
Median weeks unemployed	16.9	17.3	14.3	15.9	13.7	14.0
WOMEN						
Percent of population who worked during year	54.8	54.3	52.7	52.1	58.0	57.9
Percent of employed with year-round, full-time jobs	49.0	49.2	41.6	45.0	44.1	44.5
Percent of those in labor force during year with unemployment	26.6	29.7	22.7	22.9	16.4	17.7
Median weeks unemployed	14.1	14.4	12.4	12.8	11.1	11.7

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. Report 676. (Table A), 1982.

panic workers were subject to at least one spell of unemployment in 1981, compared with fewer than one in five Whites. Black men had the most weeks of unemployment. They averaged 17 weeks, three weeks longer than their White counterparts and one week longer than Hispanic men. Among women, Black women had the most unemployment, with Hispanic women being intermediate and White women having the least unemployment.[7] (See Table 2.)

Almost half the job gains in the first quarter of 1984 were in the goods-producing sector which had been particularly hard hit in the 1981-82 recession. While 1984 data showing the employment ratio of Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics were not available, data from 1982 can give us a clear picture of how Hispanics fare in this area. In 1982, the median weekly earnings of employed Black and Hispanic full-time wage and salary workers in the goods-producing industries were about equal but far below those of White workers. Black workers averaged $247 a week, compared with $242 for Hispanics and $317 for White workers. (See Table 3.) Earnings for all groups were highest in mining, transportation and public utilities. The lowest earnings were in agriculture. In the goods-producing industries, Black and Hispanic workers earned about three-fourths as much as White workers; in the service-producing industries, the proportion rose to about four-fifths.[8]

An important aspect that needs to be considered, and that is often not taken into account in many statistical analyses, is the differences among Hispanic subgroups. As Jusenuis and Wolf (1981) have observed:

> "Comparisons of Hispanics with Black and White non-Hispanics typically reveal that, as a group, the Hispanic population fares better in the labor market than Blacks, but worse than Whites. However, aggregating the several different Hispanic groups (Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, Cubans, Central and South Americans) in this fashion obscures important variations among them. For example, the unemployment rate among Puerto Ricans is much higher than that of the other Hispanic groups and is also somewhat above that of Blacks. In addition, while the median income of all Hispanics is above that of Blacks, Mexican American women earn less than any other race/national origin group. The data on unemployment and earnings suggest that our understanding of Hispanic labor market problems would be enhanced by differentiating among the several groups."[9]

As can be seen in Table 4, important distinctions are evident between Hispanic subgroups. For the years 1982-83, Mexican, Cuban, and other Hispanic origin subgroups had the highest labor force participation rates (ranging from 64% to 68%), and Puerto Ricans had the lowest (from 51% decreasing to 49%). However, while the labor force participation rates of Mexican, Cuban and Hispanic origin were similar, there were striking differences in the unemployment rates. Cubans and other Hispanic origin have the lowest unemployment rates for both years, with Mexicans being intermedite, and Puerto Ricans being the most severely hit with the highest unemployment rates. (See Table 4.)

TABLE 3. EMPLOYMENT & MEDIAN USUAL WEEKLY EARNINGS BY INDUSTRY, RACE, & HISPANIC ORIGIN, 1982 ANNUAL AVERAGES

(Numbers in thousands)

Industry	Black			Hispanic			White		
	Employment		Usual Weekly Earnings	Employment		Usual Weekly Earnings	Employment		Usual Weekly Earnings
	Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent	
All workers	9,178	100.0	$247	5,138	100.0	$242	87,290	100.0	$317
Agriculture	189	2.1	148	251	4.9	209	2,868	3.3	207
Mining	31	.3	323	56	1.1	432	975	1.1	465
Construction	343	3.7	271	284	5.5	298	4,832	5.5	365
Manufacturing	1,875	20.4	260	1,305	25.4	236	17,793	20.4	336
Durable goods	986	10.7	289	728	14.2	n.a.	10,582	12.1	356
Nondurable goods	888	9.7	233	577	11.2	n.a.	7,192	8.2	304
Transportation and public utilities	567	6.2	339	258	5.0	352	5,028	5.8	419
Trade	1,325	14.2	210	1,019	19.8	209	18,608	21.3	254
Finance, insurance and real estate	456	5.0	241	273	5.3	246	5,513	6.3	292
Services	2,238	24.4	217	1,008	19.6	226	18,688	21.4	278
Government	2,154	23.5	284	684	13.3	302	12,987	14.9	346

n.a. = not available

Note: Columns may not equal totals because of rounding

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report 699, (Table A) 1983.

TABLE 4. EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE HISPANIC-ORIGIN POPULATION, 16 YEARS & OVER, QUARTERLY AVERAGES, NOT SEASONALLY ADJUSTED

(Numbers in thousands)

Employment status	Mexican origin		Puerto Rican origin		Cuban origin		Other Hispanic origin	
	1982	1983	1982	1983	1982	1983	1982	1983
Civilian non-institutional population	5,788	5,767	1,219	1,198	787	784	1,764	1,928
Civilian labor force	3,820	3,843	622	591	511	540	1,148	1,282
Participation rate	66.0	66.6	51.0	49.3	64.9	68.9	65.1	66.5
Employed	3,252	3,322	508	506	458	479	1,014	1,165
Employment population ratio[1]	56.2	57.6	41.7	42.2	58.2	61.1	57.5	60.4
Unemployed	567	521	115	85	53	61	134	117
Unemployment rate	14.9	13.6	18.4	14.3	10.3	11.3	11.7	9.1
Not in labor force	1,969	1,924	597	607	276	244	615	646

[1] See footnote 2, table 1

[1] Civilian employment as percent of the civilian non-institutional population.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report 701, (Table 2) 1983.

In addition to statistical data, Jusenuis and Wolf state there are also important conceptual reasons for believing that the labor market experiences of the Hispanic groups would differ. First, Hispanics are geographically concentrated in different regions of the country. Such patterns are important because various states and regions have been experiencing different patterns of economic growth, and the local labor market conditions that Hispanic groups face vary considerably. For example, Puerto Ricans in the Mid-Atlantic area face above average unemployment and below average growth rates, while Mexican Americans in Texas face below average unemployment rates and above average growth rates. "Because the Hispanic groups are largely located in widely separated regions, their labor market problems--and the sources of those problems-- might reasonably be expected to differ as well. This suggests that policy responses may need to be tailored to individual groups, depending upon their location."[10]

Education and the Work Force

In addition to occupational segregation, a source of problems Hispanics face in inequitable employment status and earnings is the level of educational attainment. Workers who have completed at least a high school education, and especially those who have attended college, continue to be more successful in the job market than those without high school diplomas. March 1983 statistics on the employment status of workers, by number of years of school completed, show that with more schooling the proportion of persons who are in the labor force (the labor force participation rate) tends to increase and the percent of workers who are unemployed tends to decline.

The data also show that the educational level of Black and Hispanic workers 25 to 65 years old continues to lag behind that of their White counterparts. In March 1983, about 70 percent of Black workers and 55 percent of Hispanic workers in that age group had completed 4 or more years of high school, compared with 85 percent of White workers. Moreover, despite substantial education gains by Blacks and other minorities over the past two decades, White workers were still at least twice as likely as Blacks or Hispanics to have finished 4 or more years of college.

Labor force participation rates vary directly with years of school completed, that is, the rates are highest for college graduates and lowest for school dropouts - whether men or women, Black, Hispanic, or White.

Participation rates at each educational level varied substantially among Blacks, Hispanics and Whites. Among men, Blacks were less likely to be in the labor force than their White or Hispanic counterpart regardless of educational attainment. The highest rates for each level of schooling (except for college graduates) occurred among Hispanic men; even among those who did not finish high school, 87 percent were in the labor force, a much higher proportion than either Blacks or Whites. (Much of this differential is explained by the age distribution of Hispanics, who are younger on average than Whites or Blacks). Patterns were quite different among women. Black women were more likely than their White or Hispanic counterparts to be in the labor force at each level of schooling.

Unemployment rates of workers also relate closely to the level of school completed. Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites with higher levels of education, consistently had lower unemployment rates. At each level of educational attainment, however, jobless rates were higher for Blacks and Hispanics than for Whites. For example, the rate of 6.6 percent for White high school graduates compares with 10.5 percent for Hispanics and 15.5 percent for Blacks.[11]

HISPANIC WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

In order to obtain a complete perspective of the labor situation, a specific focus on women must be made. Perhaps a few statistics can help delineate some of the obstacles that women, particularly Hispanic women, face in the labor market.[13]

- Two out of very three poor adults are women. Other things being equal, women household heads would be paid 30 percent more if they were male.
- Women working full-time, year round, continue to earn only 59¢ to every dollar earned by men. Full-time Black women workers earn only 54¢, while Hispanic women earn only 49¢ to every dollar earned by White men. Racism almost guarantees poverty to minority women.
- Women are poorer than men because their wages are lower, even when they have comparable jobs and experience. Education and employment - the traditional routes men use to escape poverty - haven't worked for women.
- Women below the poverty line are better educated than men whose incomes are below the poverty line. In fact, this holds for all full-time workers earning over $4,000 annually.
- A college educated woman earns less, on the average, than men with an eighth grade education; a woman with a high school diploma has less income than a man who never finished high school.
- Women's jobs are likely to be split-shift and part-time with less over-time work available. Seniority, overtime and fringe benefits, which can raise a worker's pay by more than 20%, are denied to part-time workers.
- Within and across different sectors of the economy, jobs are segregated on the basis of sex. More than 80% of all working women are crowded into clerical, service, sales and manufacturing jobs where wages are significantly lower than in male dominated manufacturing and skilled trades. More than 50% of all fully employed Latinas, 43% of Black women, and 37% of White women earn under $10,000 a year. One-third of working women earn under $7,000 a year. If women were paid the wages earned by similarly qualified men, half the families now living in poverty would not be poor.

Women's employment and women's poverty go hand in hand. As such, women's poverty is to be understood as women who are underpaid and employed

in dead-end jobs rather than poor people who happen to be women.[14]

Poverty is more prevalent among women for several reasons. (1) Working women characteristically have lower earnings than working men. The major explanation for the earnings gap between women and men is the relatively greater concentration of women in the low-paying and low skilled occupations--those in which advancement and upward mobility are particularly limited. (2) Women experience significantly higher employment rates than men, which also makes it difficult for many women to "work" their way out of poverty. In addition to having higher unemployment rates, women are more likley than men to become discouraged with job prospects and discontinue looking for work. Thus, many women who want jobs are not in the labor force (neither working nor looking for work) because they think no jobs are available.[15] In the second quarter of 1983, there were about 1.7 million "discouraged" persons of whom 1 million (59%) were women. Most were between the ages of 25 and 59, and gave job market factors rather than personal factors (such as education, age, or handicap) as the reasons they thought they could not get a job.[16] Also, more women than men are working part-time involuntarily. Although a number of these women want full-time jobs, they can find only part-time work. (3) Responsibilities for the care of children, especially very young children, often restrict employment and earning opportunities for many women. Expanded day care facilities--both public and private--would help to alleviate this restriction. (4) Because they have greater longevity than men, women predominate among those whose chances of being poor are the greatest--the aged. Although the poverty rate of women exceeded that of men in virtually every age group, the greatest differential occurred among those persons 65 years of age and older. There were 2.3 million poor women and about 1 million poor men in this age group. (5) Finally, sex discrimination prevents women from taking as full advantage of job market opportunities as their male counterparts. Such discrimination is often based on notions that women cannot and should not fill the same jobs as men.[17]

Although the labor force participation rate of Hispanic women is similar to other women, their economic situation is far worse because of the low-skill, low-pay and dead-end jobs in which they are concentrated. Stating that Hispanic women suffer a triple oppression as a result of their sex, their ethnicity and their lower-economic class status, is much more than just rhetoric. There are, unfortunately, many statistics available that provide a bleak picture of the economic, educational, and political position of Hispanic women in the United States. As an ethnic group, they are a part of one of the most economically deprived groups in the country. Twenty-five percent of U.S. Hispanic families have incomes of less than $4,000 a year. Although this is 10% greater than the proportion of low-income families found in the total population, these figures do not reflect the large number of persons per family who must exist on this income.

> "...because of the high rate of poverty, the family is unable to educate the children adequately. Lack of income forces children to end their education early in order to enter the labor market and assist in the support of the family. Lacking an adequate education, the child enters

the labor force at the lowest of employment levels, with a minimum of skills, thereby earning a low income. This perperpetuates the cycle of poverty."[13]

This cycle of poverty becomes even more difficult to break when the category of Hispanic women alone is taken into account. When compared to men (Anglo, Black and Hispanic) and to women (both Anglo and Black), Hispanic women are at the bottom of the scale with the lowest wages, although their unemployment rate is not as low as that of Black women. (See Table 5.)

One of the most extensive analysis of the statistical data of Hispanic women and the labor force has been conducted by Guhleman and Tienda (1981) at the University of Wisconsin. In their report, A Socioeconomic Profile of Hispanic American Female Workers, they not only looked at the position of Hispanic women and the labor force in general, but by separating the different Hispanic subgroups, they found that very important distinctions among Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican and other Spanish origin groups existed.

Among Hispanic women, only those of other Spanish origin exhibited a LFPR similar to White women. Cuban and Central/South American origin women participated in the labor force at a higher rate than the former groups, whereas the relative shares of working women of Mexican and Puerto Rican origin women were lower, 49 and 36 percent respectively.

The levels of participation by Mexican and Puerto Rican women are lower than those of non-Hispanics at every age interval, and this keeps overall rates low. Older Cuban origin women are actually more likely to work than young women, and the larger proportion of older women in the Cuban population contributes to their relatively high overall rates.[19]

As Hispanic women obtain higher levels of education, they are more likely to work, except for Puerto Rican women who are much less likely to work than either non-Hispanic White or other Hispanic origin women for any given level of education. Labor force participation among Puerto Rican origin women is a particular concern. Not only is it extremely low, but there is evidence that it has been declining since the early 1960's (Cooney and Colon, 1979; Newman, 1978).[20] Thus, labor force participation rates are especially low for Puerto Rican origin women, relatively high among Cuban and Central/South American women, and somewhere between these two extremes for those of Mexican and other Spanish origin.

In terms of unemployment, it is relatively low among other Spanish women, and relatively high among Puerto Ricans. For the latter group, the unemployment rate is nearly two and one-half times greater than that found among non-Hispanic Whites. Although Cuban and Central/South American women are more likely to be in the labor force than non-Hispanic Whites, because of higher unemployment rates, the proportion of Cuban and Central/South American women who actually have work is quite similar to non-Hispanic Whites.

Among all workers, Central/South American and other Spanish origin women earn about $140 more than non-Hispanic Whites, while Puerto Rican

and Cuban origin women earn approximately $50 less on an annual basis. The greatest difference, however, is between Mexican and non-Hispanic White women, where annual earnings are about $1,700 less for minority women.

When only full-time/full-year workers are considered, Hispanic women in every national origin group earn less than their non-Hispanic counterparts. Puerto Rican, Cuban and Central/South American women who work full-time/full-year, average at least $1,000 less than non-Hispanic White women with a comparable labor supply. Between Mexican and non-Hispanic women, the difference is about $2,350, to the disadvantage of Mexicans.[21]

Occupation is the second most important determinant of earnings for Mexican and non-Hispanic White women. The model occupation of Mexican origin women is clerical or retail sales, and this is also the occupation where the greatest earnings discrepancy between Mexican origin and non-Hispanic White women exists. Mexican clerical and sales workers earn $1000 less per year than non-Hispanic White women in similar occupations. In every occupational category, including professional and managerial workers, non-Hispanic White women earn at least $500 more than Mexican origin women in the same broad occupational grouping. With the exception of Cuban origin women, Hispanic women of all national origins who are professionals earn less than non-Hispanic White women professionals. In sum, their results show considerable labor market disadvantages among Hispanic women, particularly Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.[22]

The disadvantages faced by Hispanic women in the labor market create serious problems and have dire consequences not only for themselves but for their families as well. For example, in 1981, 53.2% of families headed by women were below the poverty level.[23] Since 50% of Hispanic women who work make less than 10,000 a year and more than 80% are employed in the domestic and service sector, we can see the particularly difficult problems faced by women who are single heads of households.

A problem, inherent in the perpetuation of women in low-paying jobs, is that sex segregation in the labor market is particularly determined by the transition of young women from school directly to traditionally female occupations. Currently, only 5% of Hispanic women have completed college as compared to 11% among Black women, 22% among Anglo women, and 34% among Anglo males.[24] Without increased education among Hispanic women, there is little likelihood of increased wages. However, in all levels, regardless of educational attainment, Hispanic women are in the lowest-paying, dead-end jobs where chances for monetary gains are minimal. Until this pattern is changed, what will continue is the perpetuation of a large underpaid and underutilized segment of our population, and the inevitable effects on society of workers who have been prevented from becoming an upwardly-mobile and integral part of society.

Hispanic Youth

Youth unemployment in the U.S. is a major national problem. However, as emphasized in a report by NCLR (1980):

> While the problem of youth unemployment is of major concern, the problem becomes compounded when examined for a special subgroup of the youth population, namely Hispanic youth. Hispanic unemployment rates are consistently 30% higher than the unemployment rate of the general population. And for Hispanic teenagers, the rate of unemployment is 20%. The problem of Hispanic youth employment will not disappear in the near future; rather, as Hispanics become the nation's largest minority at the end of the 1980's, Hispanic youth employment problems will receive greater visibility because Hispanic youth will comprise a greater proportion of the general youth population, and comprise a significant portion of the economically disadvantaged youth population.[25]

Despite the serious problems faced by Hispanic youth in the area of employment, the majority of data collection in this area has been, until recently, primarily focused on White and Black youth. However, information gathered by the Department of Labor's National Longitudinal Survey on Youth produced a rich source of data for looking at the issue of Hispanic youth and employment. The National Council of La Raza has furthered this effort by devoting considerable time to the analysis of this data.[26]

Preliminary findings from this study indicate that Hispanic youth, on the average, tend to occupy an intermediate position relative to other racial groups, usually closer to the White patterns than to those of Blacks on most indicators of social welfare status. The exception is in education, where Hispanic youth have substantially lower educational attainments.[27] (See Table 6.)

Also, as with the adult population, Hispanic youth of different national origins differ significantly. Puerto Rican youth have more serious problems according to most measures, with patterns closely paralleling those of Black youth. Cuban youth are at the other extreme, with characteristics usually similar to those of Whites. Chicano and "other Hispanic" youth are intermediate, with the former typically somewhat better off than the latter.[28] (See Table 7.)

In addition to having higher unemployment rates and lower educational levels, which obviously contribute to lower wages, the NLS data also indicated they have more family responsibilities than White youth. One in seven Hispanic youth has been married compared to one in nine Whites and less than 7% of Blacks. Chicano and Cuban youth in the sample have the highest incidence of marriage followed by Puerto Rican and "other Hispanic" youth, all of whom are more frequently married than White youth. Black youth are more likly than Hispanic or White youth to have children. Nearly 13% of Blacks reported at least one child as compared to 11% of Hispanic youth. If Cubans and "other Hispanics" are excluded, the proportion of Hispanic youth with children approaches the rate of Black youth; 12.3% of Chicanos and 11.8% of Puerto Ricans in the sample report being parents.

There are also significant income differences among the racial and ethnic groups. With the exception of Cubans, Hispanic youth are more

TABLE 5. LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE, UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, & WEEKLY EARNINGS BY SEX, & RACE: 1980 & 1983

	Labor Force Participation		Unemployment Rate		Weekly Earnings	
	1980	1983	1980	1983	1980	1983
White male	78.3	77.1	6.1	8.8	329	402
White Female	51.3	52.7	6.5	7.9	206	264
Black Male	70.8	70.6	13.3	20.3	247	314
Black Female	53.4	54.2	13.1	18.6	190	239
Hispanic[4] Male	80.3	80.8	8.0	13.5	238	277
Hispanic Female	47.9	48.5	10.4	13.8	177	222

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1981, Washington, D.C., pp. 381, 383, 384 and 407.

likely than Black or Whites to live in families with income under $10,000. Whites considerably out-distance all other racial groups. An exception among Hispanics are the families of Cuban youth in the sample who tend to be clustered in the middle income levels.

In terms of education, Hispanic youth are almost twice as likely as White youth to be high school dropouts. The proportion who are college students is a third less than among Whites. One in ten has gone beyond a high school education compared with one in seven Whites. Black youth are more likely to complete high school and somewhat more likely to have advanced to college. The educational attainment levels of Cuban youth in the sample are significantly higher than for all other Hispanic groups and even for Whites. Nearly 75% of the Cuban youth are enrolled in high school or college in contrast to approximately 60% of Chicano and Puerto Rican youth. School dropout rates are especially high for Puerto Rican and Chicano youth. On the other hand, the dropout rate of Cuban youth is almost identical to that of Whites.[29]

In employment status, Hispanics occupy an intermediate position relative to Blacks and Whites but there are distinct subgroup differences. Among the three major Spanish origin groups, only 58% of the Puerto Ricans are in the labor force as compared to 63% of both Chicanos and Cubans. Moreover, 40% of the Puerto Ricans and 22% of the Chicanos in the labor force are unemployed in contrast to only 15% of the Cubans. The employment/population ratios are 34% for Puerto Ricans, 49% for Chicanos, and 54% for Cubans. The employment status of Puerto Rican youth is, thus, similar to that of Blacks while the employment status of Cuban youth parallels that of Whites.[30]

TABLE 6. YOUTH POPULATION: SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS BY RACE & HISPANIC ORIGIN

	White	Hispanic	Black
Family Income Less Than $10,000	17%	38%	41%
Unemployment Rate	16	23	39
Employment/Population Ratio	61	48	40
From Family With Both Male and Female Heads (youth living at home)	79	69	54
Dropouts Among 20-22 Year-Olds	15	38	28

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Youth Programs, Youth Knowledge Development Report (10.2), A Profile of Hispanic Youth, March 1980, p. 3.

There are significant differences between the employment status of young men and women. Young Hispanic females generally have lower LFPRs than White or Black women. Slightly over half of Chicano and Puerto Rican females are in the labor force. Among Cubans, the LFPR is 64%, which is approximately halfway between the rates of Black and white females. Nearly 48% of Puerto Rican females in the labor force are unemployed and they have an employment/population ratio of only 27%. Puerto Rican females are the most disadvantaged group among NLS youth. With the exception of LFPR, Chicano and White females. However, Chicanos resemble more closely the situation of Blacks, while Cubans reflect more the status of Whites.[31]

In her report, Dunn (1980) also emphasized that in addition to measure of employment status such as unemployment rates, it is equally important to assess the types of jobs held by Hispanic youth and the potential for career development and personal fulfillment. In some qualitatvie dimensions, the Hispanic youth employment situation is more serious than the employment status measures would suggest.[32]

There are significant race and sex-related differences in the occupational distribution of employed youth. Females of all races are overwhelmingly concentrated in clerical and sales occupations, but Hispanic women more than Blacks or Whites, and Puerto Rican and Cuban females more so than Chicanas. Four out of five employed Puerto Rican and Cuban females

and seven out of ten Cubans, are working in clerical or sales work. Employed males are most heavily represented in skilled labor and craft jobs. Black and Hispanic male youth have lower representation than Whites in such jobs, while Cuban and "other Hispanic" youth are underrepresented among Hispanics in such jobs. Service occupations employ large proportions of young females of all races as well as significant shares of Black and Hispanic males. Over a half of the employed Hispanic youth (52%) are found in the less skilled, low paying, blue collar and farm worker occupations, compared to 45% of White youth and 37% of Black youth. Only 31% of Hispanic youth are White collar workers versus 42% and 34% of White and Black youth, respectively.[33]

The NLS found that substantially more Hispanic youth respond that they are able, willing, and looking to work, but are unable to find jobs than are reported by official statistics.

In spite of nigh unemployment rates, and low educational attainment, Hispanic youth are not receiving their fair share of positions in government training programs. They constitute only 11% of all enrollees in YEDPA programs whereas Black youth account for 39% and White (and other) youth account for 49% of toal youth served.[34]

- Hispanic youth comprise only 8% of Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Project (YIEPP) enrollees compared to 75% for Black youth.
- In the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) Hispanic youth account for only 6% of total enrollees whereas Whites account for 86% of enrollees.

As these statistics show, while Hispanics constituted the largest minority group in many of the areas examined, they are not participating on an equitable basis in employment and training programs, relative to Black and White youth.[35] In terms of percentage of subgroup participation, Puerto Ricans are the most likely to have participated in programs (34.4%) with Chicanos being intermediate (21.2%), and Cubans and other Hispanics being the least likely to have participated (15.2%). Participation in the programs, particularly if they can offer work experience and skills training that can prepare youth for careers, can be a very important stimulus in encouraging Hispanic youth to stay in school. The income that these jobs can provide, although minimal, is also equally critical in keeping youth in school. For example, 17% of Hispanic females and 30% of Hispanic males drop out to work because of financial difficulties; this is more than double the percentage in the White dropout population. Cuban and Chicano males, among Hispanics are most likely to leave for economic reasons, and they are also the most likely to be employed while in school and out, which suggests that better jobs may be needed in school to hold them.[36]

Hispanics are a relatively young population, with a median age of 21 compared to 31 for non-Hispanics. If current employment problems are not adequately addressed, both in youth as well as in the adult population, these problems will intensify as increasing numbers of youth enter the workforce. Hispanic youth will continue to drop out in order to help their families economically, and they will be caught in the cycle of being

prepared for, and thus having to accept, only low-skilled low-paying and dead-end jobs both as youth and as adults themselves.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Social indicators, such as the unemployment rate are closely watched and utilized in determining where and how resources will be used. Without this information, the needs of Hispanics will either be neglected or misunderstood, and inappropriate measures to resolve their problems may be undertaken. The continuing development of current, reliable statistical data is critical.
2. Hispanics are not a homogenous group, and in fact, Chicanos, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and other Spanish, differ widely on a number of important social indicators. Therefore, it is incumbent upon those who engage in the gathering of statistical data, such as the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, to develop a uniform and consistent method of gathering data on Hispanic sub-groups, in addition to the Hispanic population as a whole.
3. Hispanic women and youth have received little attention in the past, and it is particularly important that attention be focused upon gathering reliable data on both groups. Data on Hispanics must be gathered so that it can always be analyzed on the basis of ethnic subgroup, gender and age.[37]
4. The barriers Hispanics face in entering job training programs, such as CETA, need to be studied. These programs need to be re-structured to prevent Hispanics from being trained primarily for low-paying, dead-end jobs.
5. The issue of undocumented workers is too complex to discuss within the limited scope of this paper. It should, nevertheless, be recognized that special attention has to be given to the tremendous inequities these workers suffer, both in terms of wages and other forms of economic exploitation.

Hispanic Women

In addition to the problems faced by the Hispanic males in the labor force, Hispanic women face additonal barriers to equitable employment and, therefore, merit specific recommendations. A strong effort to deal with the needs of women is currently being conducted by the Women's Economic Agenda Project. They have been working on formulating employment policy solutions, some of which include the following:[38]

1. Jobs held by women pay less than men's, even though they are of comparable skill and responsibility. Legislation, for comparable worth and pay equity must be supported and implemented.
2. Women still face employment barriers due to their race and/or gender. Vigorous enforcement of anti-discrimination and affirmative action statutes must be supported.
3. Women tend to be concentrated in traditional, lower-paying jobs. Job skills training programs, for the wider employment and promotion of women must be developed.
4. Lack of adequate child care is a very serious problem, particularly for

Hispanic and other ethnic minority women, and often prevents women from working and being better able to support their families. Government and private industry must assist in the development of affordable and accessible quality child care, including special provisions for rural and migrant workers' children.

5. Recent proposals of workfare and mandatory job search often force individuals to take demeaning jobs, therefore programs should not be considered viable unless they offer quality job skills training, with childcare offered to help women out of the poverty cycle.

TABLE 7. YOUTH POPULATION-SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS BY HISPANIC SUBGROUP

	Puerto Rican	Other Hispanic	Chicano	Cuban
Family Income Less than $10,000	62%	50%	45%	33%
Dropouts Among 20-22 Year-Olds	28	22	27	12
Unemployment Rate	40	18	22	15
Family with Both Male and Female Heads	57	69	74	63
Poor Health	10	5	4	3

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Youth Programs, Youth Knowledge Development Report (10.2), A Profile of Hispanic Youth, March 1980, p. 3.

Hispanic Youth

The National Council of La Raza has focused much attention on the issue of Hispanic youth. A report prepared under the direction of the Council, Hispanic Youth Employment, Establishing a Knowledge Base (1980), listed many excellent recommendations for improving the employment situation of Hispanic youth. Some of the following recommendations are based on that report.[39]

1. The teenage population is continuing to grow for Hispanics while declining for the total population. Special attention must be given to how they can best be integrated into the labor force on an equitable level.
2. Up to the present, the severe problems of Hispanic youth have been ignored in comparison to White and Black youth. DOL should implement a national youth demonstration project developed especially for Hispanic youth. This program should be designed to address the special problems and needs of Hispanic youth by utilizing Hispanic CBOs in the delivery of services, by providing a bilingual/bicultural approach in employment and training, and by incorporating a research and evaluation component to assess findings, recommendations, and program results.
3. Hispanic youth have not been provided the opportunity to participate on an equitable basis in YEDPA programs relative to Black and White youth, and have in fact been severely underrepresented in these programs. These programs must be monitored regularly to insure that Hispanic youth are receiving an equitable share of the research and projects developed under this Act.
4. Historically, many publicly funded work experience positions have been menial in nature, and particularly because Hispanics are already overrepresented in low-skilled, low-paying jobs, it is imperative that the job positions developed offer some type of exposure and training in a greater variety of occupations.
5. Economic necessity is the important factor which forces youth to drop out of school and enter the labor market. Measures must be taken to mediate this strong push to drop out. These should include a development of part-time jobs that would fit into the student's schedule during the school year, and the commitment of more resources to guarantee youth-in-need with summer jobs.
6. Hispanic educational attainment continues to be relatively lower than for other youth, and Hispanic youth, both male and female, are less likely than White or Black youth to be in college preparatory or vocational programs in high school. Focus on finding solutions to these problems should be given top priority. Programs, such as Upward Bound and the Educational Opportunity Program, which provide encouragement for students to stay in school and provide financial aid for those attending higher education, must be increased in scope. It is also very important to develop bilingual and bicultural informational programs regarding higher education in the elementary school levels.

The above are only a few of the recommendations which should be considered. There are many excellent recommendations published in a variety of journals and government reports which, if implemented, would begin to address the problems facing the Hispanic population. The priority now, it seems, is not necessarily to continue formulating new recommendations, but to take the best recommendations that are now available before us, and to work toward having them implemented. A strong lobbying effort is needed. Hispanics have to become well-informed of the legislation they need to elect government representatives who will implement these recommendations into much-needed policy, rather than representatives who will merely file them away, with no fear of reprisals from the electorate.

There should be a more nationally organized way of alerting the Hispanic population to new legislation, such as the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, which can have tremendously adverse effects on the Hispanic community. Changes in legislation already in effect need to be closely monitored. For example, under the current regulations of the Job Training Partnership Act, only needs-based payments are allowed. Without providing even minimal wages, it would be very difficult for an individual to participate in a job-training program to improve their remarkable skills, particularly if they have a family to support. In essence, those most in need would be the ones least able to participate.

While the focus is often on legislation on the national level, legislation critical to Hispanics is often proposed at the state level. In California, for example, legislation is currently being heard which could be very beneficial to Hispanic youth: AB2616 (Harris), would declare as state policy that public school students would have equitable access to educational programs designed to strengthen technological skills, such as, computer education programs; AB 1620 (Hughes) would require that institutions of higher education establish guidance programs for minority engineering students; and SB 1754 (Torres) would establish educational clinics to serve high school dropouts. Legislative issues, such as these, which impact directly on the preparation of Hispanic youth for employment and occupationally mobile careers, are undoubtedly introduced in many state legislatures. However, the Hispanic community is often not aware of them. Vital issues such as these must be in the fore-front of organized Hispanic lobbying efforts.

In addition to new legislation, Hispanics must also be informed of legislation which is already in effect, but which may not necessarily be actively enforced. There are already many anti-discrimination and affirmative action statutes on the books, but often they are not aggressively enforced and do not offer the guarantees they should to Hispanics and other minorities. For example, an internal EEOC survey of how that agency handles Title VII complaints reveals that Hispanics get less money per settlement than other minorities, that they experience a far lower settlement rate, and that they chance of an Hispanic charge being litigated is "so low that it is almost uncommon."[40] Also, Public Law 94-311, passed by Congress and signed into law in June 1976, called on various federal agencies to expand the collection, analysis, and publication of data relating to Americans of Spanish origin or descent. Efforts must continually be made by the Hispanic community to insure that this mandate is followed.

In essence, the recommendations and policies are there. The question is how many of these recommendations will be implemented and how many of these policies will be enforced?

Hispanics, Blacks and other minority groups are projected to account for at least one in four of the new entrants to the labor force between 1984 and 1995, an increase from the roughly one-in-six share during the 1970's.[41] With this projection, we can certainly assume that unless some of the recommendations made by Hispanic groups are taken into account and formulated into local, state and national policy, it will become increasingly impossible to integrate the growing number of Hispanics into the workforce and whatever problems we face today, will be greatly exacerbated in the future.

Footnotes

[1]Civil Rights Update, December 1982, p. 1.

[2]U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, CPS, Series P-60, No. 140, July 1983, p. 1.

[3]Ibid., p. 3.

[4]Ibid., p. 3.

[5]U.S. Department of Labor, 84-204, May 4, 1984, pp. 1-2.

[6]U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Report 676, Third Quarter, 1982, pp. 1-2.

[7]Ibid., p. 2.

[8]U.S. Department of Labor, BLS Report 699, Second Quarter, 1983, p. 2.

[9]Jusenius and Wolf, "Improving the Labor Market Position of Hispanic Americans", May 12, 1981, p. 3.

[10]Ibid., pp. 3-7.

[11]U.S. Department of Labor, BLS Report 701, Third Quarter, 1983, p. 1.

[12]Intercambios Femeniles, Vol. 1, No. 7, Fall 1982, p. 1.

[13]Women's Economic Agenda Project, 1984, pp. 2-3.

[14]Intercambios Femeniles, Vol. 1, No. 7, Fall 1982, p. 2.

[15]California Women Newsletter, May-June 1978, p. 14.

[16]U.S. Department of Labor, BLS Report 696, Second Quarter, 1983, p. 1.

[17]California Women Newsletter, May-June 1978, p. 14.

[18]U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women, August 1978.

[19]Guhleman and Tienda, A Socioeconomic Profile of Hispanic American Female Workers, CDE Working Paper 81-7, March 1981, pp. 6-7.

[20]Ibid., pp. 9-12.

[21]Ibid., pp. 15-19.

[22]Ibid., pp. 34-37.

[23]U.S. Bureau of the Census, CPS Series P-60, No. 134, 1982.

[24]U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women, August 1978.

[25]U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Youth Programs, Youth Knowledge Development Report (10.1), March 1980, pp. i-ii.

[26]For more detailed information, see the following NCLR Report: U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Youth Programs, Youth Knowledge Development Report (10.2), March 1980.

[27]Ibid., p. 3.

[28]Ibid., p. 3.

[29]Ibid., pp. 6-8.

[30]Ibid., p. 10.

[31]Ibid., p. 12.

[32]Ibid., pp. 21-24.

[33]U.S. Department of Labor, Youth Knowledge Development Report (10.1), March 1980, p. iv.

[34]Ibid., p. 151.

[35]Ibid., p. iii.

[36]U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Youth Programs, Youth Knowledge Development Report (10.2), March 1980, p. v.

[37]U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Youth Programs, Youth Knowledge Development Report (10.1), March 1980, p. v.

[38]Women's Economic Agenda Project, 1984, p. 5.

[39]U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Youth Programs, Youth Knowledge Development Report (10.1), March 1980, pp. ii-vi.

[40]U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Civil Rights Update, October 1983, p. 3.

[41]U.S. Department of Labor, BLS NEWS, USDL 83-492, November 15, 1983, p. 2.

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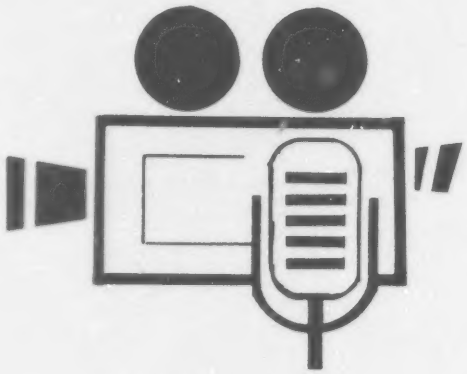
5. MEDIA



Biographical Sketch of Ricardo Montalban

Ricardo Montalban is an internationally recognized actor and celebrity. His career has spanned thirty years of television, theater and film. His characterization of Roarke in his hit series "Fantasy Island" was a successful example of a non-Latino role being well-portrayed by a Latino.

Born in Mexico City the youngest of four children, Mr. Montalban came to the United States as a teen-ager, completing his high school education in Hollywood. His career also included a thirteen year span in Mexican films during which he was nominated for the Mexican Academy Award. Mr. Montalban is married, and father of four children with whom he resides in the Hollywood Hills.

LATINOS IN FILM & TELEVISION

By Ricardo Montalban

Acting is one of the most precarious and insecure professions in the world. There is such competition: over 55,000 members of the Screen Actors Guild, and less than 4% can make a living out of it. It is very sad. Where are the parts for us -- the Latinos? There are roles for the Anglo-Saxon, plenty of roles and many of them are starving as actors. So what happens with us, for whom there are no roles written? We have to write the roles, that to me seems the solution. And we need to remind the producers and writers that they have to employ other ethnic groups to re-represent the United States of America as it is. It is a melting pot. We are the largest invisible minority, we Latins, and I think it is time for us to be visible. I have always maintained that art--and acting is an art--should have no barriers or limitations. I have played a variety of ethnic types and there is no reason that Mexicans should not be able to portray Greeks, Italians, or Frenchmen. Now, it is true that when there are roles for any ethnic group, then they should be given the priority to read and audition for those roles.

When I was under contract to MGM (1945-52), I had a lot of talks with writers and producers. I knew them as acquaintances and some of them as friends and I knew that there was no malice in them or bad intentions in the way that they portrayed and continue to portray Latins. It was ignorance. When you write a script, what you want to do is add some color to it. To them the Mexican bandit was a very colorful man, as was the Latin Lover. I used to say to them, "It really is not a true picture and even if you have to have a bandit--because there are Mexican bandits as there are American bandits and Chinese bandits--portray him as a human being, not as a caricature all the time. Do not always portray Mexicans only as bandits at the expense of the honorable and decent man, the humble man, the rich man, the great architect and the great lawyer. Write something that will be a model for our children. Open the doors to those characters. Do not just have the bandits and the gigolos, the so called Latin Lover. Give us a balance." I used to talk that way and I think I made sense to some of them. I really do not think that for them it is an easy way out. They did not know how to write about us. They still do not. It is going to take even longer than I thought.

During the time that I was at MGM there were films made that used minority actors. The films were mainly musicals about Argentina and Mexico. Even though they were unrealistic, minority actors were used, mainly as atmosphere but some of the roles were for people of Latin origin. It was not anything that you were too proud of. The stories were inane most of the time, but it was employment. There were plenty of character actors and plenty of bandits in those days. A lot of the westerns had Mexican bandits, which of course gave jobs to our actors. When I was president of Nosotros, I talked to the President of Frito Lay and I said,

"You know the Frito Bandido is really a terrible insult." And he said, "But it's cute." And I said, "Precisely because it is so cute, it is more insidious." He said, "Well, we've spent $12 million on this campaign. It has been the most successful one we have had." And I said, "Then if you will not listen to me, you are going to listen to very angry people because I am telling you, this Frito Bandido is just the straw that will break the camel's back. Why didn't you make him the Frito Amigo; he loves the chips so much, he has to share them. No, you had to make him the Frito Bandido because that is the only way you think of us, as bandits." So eventually the bandit disappeared, but so did the roles for Latinos.

ROLE MODELS

For the mass of our children the lack of role models is a very sad circumstance. In the past children would go to the movies once in a while. Now they are placed in front of a television set and exposed to it constantly. A role model is extremely important to them as an example and as an aspiration. In general terms they are exposed to a great deal of violence, a great deal of sex exploitation, none of which is very constructive to the mental health of a young child. If you add to that the fact that they can hardly identify with people in whom they do not see an image of themselves, I think they feel left out and say: "Well, there is just not any opportunity for us here. You have to be Anglo or Black to achieve certain things." I think they become very frustrated. There is not enough stimulation via media motivating young minds to apply themselves in school and to achieve a goal. They do not see Latin role models on the screen with whom they can identify. Hollywood has been very lax in portraying a fair share of positive Latin roles which we deserve and thus, giving our children hope for the future. Yet, I think that perhaps there are some who in spite of or because of this may be spurred into saying, "My God, I am going to do it on my own." I think there are those, who against all odds, rebel against the lack of opportunities, but I think they are in the minority. I think the lack of positive role models has an enormous impact on children's minds, almost like telling them, "What's the use? You cannot achieve that." And then they start to think, "Maybe we of Spanish speaking origin cannot cut it here." Many are born here but they still feel isolated.

When Hollywood projects a negative image of us at the exclusion of anything positive, it is not only very harmful here but around the world. There should be a balance. Gangs do exist, but if we focus only on the gangs, then I think we are doing a tremendous disservice to the vast majority of decent, law-abiding, hardworking and honorable citizens.

LEGISLATION

I think the legislation that came out of the '60's and '70's because of the efforts of community groups, including our own efforts at Nosotros, along with some of the more militant groups, has brought about improvement. I have seen improvement in the image. We do not see too many bandits any more. Before, that was all we played: bandits, lazy peons and gigolos. Now we have characters with dignity on a couple of TV shows and in some

films. I do see a little more balance. I see positive signs but I do not see enough growth, nor is it fast enough. What I have not seen is a considerable increase in roles available. I think that legislation, such as the use of quotas, is most effective when applied to commercials and atmosphere in movies. There are so many ways to get around laws when casting the larger roles in a film. The director can say, "I have to cast this role and I want this man. The role calls for his type and I cannot use an ethnic person." The fact that now we are a very powerful means of economic gain for the industry is what will make the difference. We now count as a very strong economic resource. I think that aspect is what we have to emphasize and drill into them. Good will, communication, suggesting our own stories, developing our own writers together with our growing economic strength will change Hollywood's perception and portrayal of us. Movies like "El Norte" are what will make the difference. I think that is the effective road and the one by which we will accomplish our goals.

COMPARISON OF HISPANICS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

In the area of image, Blacks are a little ahead of us because they have developed tremendous stars in other areas, like sports and music. They have excelled in other fields and that is a great advantage. Indians and Asians are perhaps even a little behind the Hispanic as far as exposure. Now that the Frito Bandido is gone, we are starting to emerge a little more realistically. Before our image was total caricature. I think now some television shows portray us with dignity; on the screen a couple of roles have improved the situation. I see an improvement but a very slow one. I know that Blacks also feel they are not represented proportionately. However, the Blacks have one advantage over us in that if the name of a character is William Russell, a director with some vision can easily cast a Black man in the role. When your name is Jose Gonzales somehow they do not think of you when the role of the doctor or lawyer is named William Russell. Somehow, we are at a tremendous disadvantage and that is why so many of our people Anglicize their names. Sometimes that seems to work and many more doors are opened to them. So the Black with an Anglo-Saxon name has a little more advantage than we have when they are casting a film.

Table I which follows outlines statistics on the representation by ethnicity in all roles cast including television and film.

TABLE 1

SCREEN ACTORS GUILD STATISTICS 1981-82

	MALE	FEMALE
ASIAN/PACIFIC	2%	1.1%
BLACK	6.3%	5.8%
CAUCASIAN	85%	88%
LATINO/HISPANIC	3.3%	2.3%
NATIVE AMERICAN INDIAN	.3%	.1%
OTHER/UNKNOWN	1.5%	1.6%

These statistics are based on data given to SAG from the producers. These figures remain constant and have varied little in the past ten years. In commercials, the percentage for Caucasians is even higher, over 90%. All roles cast, whether on TV or film, are included in this table.

NATIONAL UNITY

We must present a united front. We seem to be very fragmented. We seem to be in competition with one another instead of having total good will and speaking in a cohesive voice. We are all asking for the same thing, the betterment of our people so let us pull together. I think that is the most constructive thing we could do.

One possible way to do this would be to establish a National Hispanic Theatre in conjunction with Actors' Equity, which has been speaking of setting up a National Theatre for some time now. Each of the groups, like Nosotros, Bilingual Foundation of the Arts, Plaza de la Raza, and The Puerto Rican Traveling Theatre, could contribute and be a subdivision of it. We could all join together and put our best talent forward, to show the producers and directors that we do have the talent--that we can do the work. The fact that each group is an entity unto itself prevents us from having any real clout when we speak. But if we could work together on a national level, then I believe we could effect important changes on national television and in film.

THE FUTURE

In the final analysis, I think the age of demonstration has lost its effectiveness. I think that people become annoyed with it. At one time it was necessary, now I think it is time to do something else. What I would love to see us do, more than aspiring to be actors, is to inculcate in those children who have the ability to write, to do so. Without the written word there are no roles to play. If we could develop our own

scriptwriters, that would be such a wonderful answer because a very good script will always sell. I think that is the future. They are not going to write about us, not because they do not want to, I think that they just do not know how to. After so many years of being portrayed in a certain way it is very difficult to eradicate that image. So we have to do it our-ourselves. We can do it because we have the talent and ability like anybody else but we have never really gone in that direction. Scriptwriting is a very specialized art that must be studied. Just writing a story is not enough; to dialogue it, so that the actor has a means of expression, that is a special craft in itself. Everything that is good takes time and effort to achieve. It took me 38 years to be what I am today--in a sort of enviable position, a television series that is successful and earning a very good salary. During my life I had some periods that were not so good and I had to tighten my belt.

A successful, commercial project like "Zoot Suit" is a perfect example of one of those trailblazers that opened the door. Someone else will open the door a little wider, and the process continues and more and more people become involved. That is what we have to do. I think we have to let the community know that we have aspirations in this area of show business. We have to develop writers.

The moment of pulling ourselves up and standing up straight is here and we have got to do it. We have to do it ourselves. Now, how do we do it? Number one, I repeat, develop writers; and once the roles are there, be so well prepared and be such good actors that they cannot say there are no Latins to play the parts. We must always strive for excellence. The challenge is here and we have to meet it head on. The only way you can meet it head on is by being beautifully prepared. If you say, "I can do that," and you do it and you do not do a good job, it's a step backward for the next actor. We have to be very careful to really apply ourselves. Being an actor is not easy. It is a very difficult profession. I have not yet begun to learn what I would like to learn as an actor. It takes a lifetime of struggle and study and practice and pain. Just because someone is good-looking does not guarantee success. That matters the least. You have to develop your talent, your speech. There are so many facets to really being a fine actor, we really have to prepare ourselves. Nothing stopped Anthony Quinn, at any time in his life. Why? Because he is a man who is thoroughly professional, thoroughly dedicated to his art. He developed his art. So he became a very powerful actor, and a powerful actor will make his way through anything. And many of us could have his dedication even if we never achieve his stature. There is nothing to stop us from being dedicated and working hard. I am sure there are many Anthony Quinn's around, but we will never find them unless we have tremendous dedication.

On just one night of "Fantasy Island" more people see me than in all the cumulative work I have done on stage. So it has a tremendous amount of power. Film and television are very powerful in shaping our perceptions. For that reason, it is very important that we be portrayed truthfully and accurately, not just in negative ways. We must also show the positive images and all the good that exists in our Latin heritage and people.

6. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Biographical Sketch of Arabella Martinez

Arabella Martinez was born in Trinidad, Colorado, and raised in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area of California.

She received her Bachelor of Arts and Masters of Social Welfare from the University of California at Berkeley. She was awarded the John Hay Whitney Fellowship in 1965, the Rosalie M. Stern Award for "significant voluntary contributions to her community" from the University of California Alumni Association in 1974 and an Honorary Doctorate Degree from Trinity College, Washington, D.C., in 1977.

A professional social worker, she has worked as a caseworker, a social welfare planner, a community organizer, and as the executive director of an anti-poverty agency.

Ms. Martinez was a founder of the Spanish Speaking Unity Council in Oakland. The Council sponsors programs for community economic development, housing, employment, and job development.

In 1974, she left the Council to become a consultant to community-based social programs in California, Texas and Arizona. In Washington, D.C., she served as Assistant Secretary for Human Development Services in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. She is now an economic and development specialist with her own firm, Martinez & Associates, in Washington, D.C.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT & THE HISPANIC COMMUNITY

By Arabella Martinez

SPEECH BY ARABELLA MARTINEZ TO THE NATIONAL HISPANIC UNIVERSITY, SECOND ANNUAL CONVOCATION, DECEMBER 13, 1983

The National Hispanic University has pledged itself to an ambitious program of economic development designed to achieve to the fullest extent possible the maximum use of our potential to upgrade our skills and knowledge, and to bring the Hispanic community to parity with the large American society of which it is a vital part. The goals of the University are economic development goals of the highest order, for they aim at achieving what are the true objectives of economic development. These include:

- Developing self-sufficiency skills;
- Providing technical assistance to upgrade the capacity of existing Hispanic businesses;
- Training to prepare Hispanics and other minorities for the high technology, information age;
- Linking well-trained Hispanic and other minority men and women with opportunities as vendors, distributors and franchisers within expanding fields in corporate America;
- Implementing a statewide network of community-based economic development programs.

These are tremendously important goals, and it will be extremely difficult to realize them successfully, for we, as a community, have so far to go, even though we have made substantial progress in the past 20 years. I am sure you have heard from others about the vast amount of ground Hispanics must make up before they can realize full participation in the American economy. We are heavily overrepresented in low-paying jobs, and underrepresented in the professions and better paying jobs. Most critically, we are severely underrepresented in the career tracks that lead to a better economic future. And that is only one reason that this National Hispanic University is so vital to the future of Hispanics.

If we are going to realize our full potential in this diverse and changing economy, we must get on those career tracks, and this means a radical change in some of the most distressing facts of Hispanic life. For instance, we must find ways to prevent half of our young people who enter high school from dropping out. Remember that one-third of our population is still under 15--now is the time to go to work on this vital problem. We must find ways to help more of our students who do make it to college to complete their training--now 60% of our young people who start college never finish. And we must assure that our young people go into the workplace with fluency in English, as this has been shown to be a major stumbling block to achieving economic parity. For instance, one study

indicated that Hispanic males with 12 years of schooling and low English proficiency earn 20% less than their Hispanic counterparts with good English proficiency.

We must make our community aware of the changes that are reshaping our economy, so that they do not become trapped in the dead end and backwater jobs that they have for too long suffered. We need more lawyers, investment bankers, engineers and computer specialists, and fewer day laborers, farmworkers and domestics if we are to realize, as a community, our full economic potential.

It is important to understand the spectrum of activities and institutions that constitute economic development in the Hispanic community today. First, there are Hispanic businesses, the vast majority of them small and undercapitalized. In the Anglo society, business is looked upon as a cornerstone of community support, in a variety of ways. But our small Hispanic businesses typically devote all of their energies to staying solvent, and seldom are able to make the contributions to the larger community which they otherwise might. For instance, they can seldom afford the risks of providing on-the-job training to Hispanics who badly need it, or to support many community-wide improvement programs.

Another important aspect of economic development for Hispanics is simply getting jobs in large Anglo institutions, corporations, banks and insurance companies. The record to date is not encouraging, as lack of appropriate skills has limited these opportunities, and other forces appear to prevent those who do have the right credentials from advancing very far in the Anglo business world. Recent studies of the Black experience in corporate America provide some insightful lessons as to how these forces work, although my own feeling is that large Anglo business institutions are doing somewhat better at hiring and mentoring minorities than they were a few years ago. A major problem at this time, however, which could erode the gains we have made in recent years, is the behavior of the national administration, which refuses to support and expand the affirmative action and civil rights gains of the past.

There is another aspect of economic development that I have been particularly interested in for a number of years, and that is community economic development, particularly as carried out by community development corporations. These organizations, and there are several here in the Bay Area, have provided unique opportunities for Hispanics and other minorities to learn to be entrepreneurs, and to develop a wide range of business skills. They have been franchisers, housing developers, business loan packagers, venture capitalists, office builders, land bankers, and been involved in a broader range of economic development activity than any other single type of minority institution. In places such as Oakland, Phoenix, San Antonio, and East Los Angeles, these are the largest and most diverse Hispanic businesses in the whole area.

Recently, the future of these vital economic development organizations has been threatened by an almost total withdrawal of federal support, and shrinking support from other non-federal sources such as foundations and

corporations. But David Carlson and I recently conducted a study of how well many CDC's are weathering this storm, and found that most are surviving, establishing new sources of support, and continuing their vital activities in economic development and the development of minority leadership. Our study re-emphasized for me the three key goals of community economic development. These are:

- Developing an institutional base from which a broad variety of economic development activities can be launched, and through which minority leadership can be created and nurtured;

- Changing, through institutional development, the attitudes and behavior of not only the larger, Anglo business and political community around us, but also the attitudes and behavior of our own community;

- Increasing the human capacity of the whole Hispanic community, to undertake economic development, to develop leadership and continue to develop Hispanic institutions.

You will notice that I said nothing in the foregoing about that well-known boundary, the "bottom line." That is not to say that business ventures should not be profitable--they should be, and often are--but rather to emphasize the point that for minority communities, which have so far to come to achieve economic parity in our society, economic development must deal with qualitative as well as those other quantitative changes that explicitly define economic growth. Economic development should be perceived as the critical process whereby we develop those minority institutions which are the driving force in developing leadership, and in creating the opportunities that can only be created through fundamental changes in attitudes, behavior and through the enhancement of human capacity.

There is much talk at this convocation about various megatrends afoot in the land. Well, in my experience, one of the most important megatrends, despite recent setbacks, is that of the economic development, using the definition I have already given, of hundreds of minority communities, in rural as well as urban areas. Perhaps this fits well with Megatrends author John Naisbitt's analysis of the decentralization of decision-making and power to localities, and the related trend of what Naisbitt terms "a basic restructuring of the work environment from top-down to bottom-up." In any case, it has been happening for nearly two decades, and I predict that it will grow, both in economic terms and in terms of its importance to minority communities throughout America.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the growth and evolution of community development corporations has been the caliber of minority leadership that they have generated. This was the focus of the study we recently completed, and it confirmed our longheld belief that this leadership is fundamentally developed through the creation of leadership opportunities that occur in the process of economic development. In the course of the study we met with a number of the best-known minority leaders who have emerged through this process--Franklin Thomas, now President of Ford Foundation;

W. Wilson Goode, now mayor-elect of Philadelphia; Henry Mestre, my successor at the Spanish Speaking Unity Council and now program officer for the California Partnership of the Local Initiatives Support Corporation; and Ronnie Lopez, now chief administrative aide to Governor Bruce Babbitt of Arizona. These are some of the best known of the CDC "alumni" and all are significant minority leaders in larger settings today.

These minority leaders confirmed our assumptions and beliefs and added, in many important ways, to our knowledge of how economic development builds minority leaders and strong minority institutions. My old friend, Evelio Grillo, who has contributed so much to the development of minority institutions in the East Bay (Oakland, California), provided us with a tremendously valuable insight, which I shall share with you:

> Before community development corporations came into being, minority leadership was developed and operated largely in the "soft" fields: education, health, the social services, employment placement, labor organizations and politics. Only a few opportunities existed for us to to develop and to function as entrepreneurs, as economic developers, as creators of jobs for our presumed constituents. The CDC movement developed a new American institution within which potential minority leadership learned to relate integrally to the society's economic goals, to function within economic models and with economic protocols. We broke out of our restricted relationships to sources of "charitable" support, and moved into the entrepreneur's world of banks, investment and development. Very importantly, we learned to think and function as managers, not simply administrators.

CDC's have provided vital learning opportunities, as minorities for the first time have had the opportunity to control and manage investment capital and to create and manage small and medium-sized businesses and large-scale physical development projects. Given the almost total exclusion of minorities from significant positions in the business sector and the educational discrimination suffered by many minorities, the requisite knowledge and skills were in short supply. In order for CDC's to survive, staff and board members had to learn--in a short time and mainly on the job--the complexities of economic development in areas which were considered economic wastelands by government and business.

As they have matured, CDC's have also provided critically important opportunities to link business institutions into their communities, through various advisory positions, and through board membership for Anglo businessmen, so that they could participate directly in the development decisions of the community. They have come to understand the tremendous difficulties of redeveloping areas where disinvestment had for so long been the norm. Other studies have indicated that those CDC's that have invited such participation on their boards, have significantly better economic development performance than those that have not.

Although I have indicated that such vital processes as leadership development, attitudinal change, and capacity building are the real goals of economic development, I do not want anyone to think that hard results, in

terms of profits and losses, assets and liabilities, count for nothing. These are critical measures of performance, and the curious fact is that the story of CDC performance has not yet been told. Two evaluations of CDC performance which were completed within the past two years have both been lost in the wreckage of the agencies sponsoring them--the Community Services Administration (CSA), and HUD's Office of Neighborhood Development, both of which have been expunged by the Reagan Administration. But being familiar with the results of those studies David Carlson and I supplemented them with our own, more recent research.

One study, of 15 large, CSA-supported CDC's, revealed an impressive record of accomplishment since the late 1960's, particularly when you realize that these organizations were attempting to build housing, create new commercial space, launch business ventures and aid small businesses in some of the poorest economic wastelands in the nation--central Brooklyn, the West Side of San Antonio, Harlem and the East Oakland flatlands. These are some of the results these 15 organizations could show, in the aggregate:

- Over $183 million of new assets had been created, and these were generating over $150 million in revenues annually;
- Nearly 3,000 units of new housing had been created, as well as 2.3 million sq. ft. of commercial and industrial space;
- Neary two-thirds of the 288 business ventures launched by the CDC's were still operating when the study was made; overall, the ventures taken together show a small profit, despite the heavy mortality of other ventures in these same areas;
- The various activities of the 15 CDC's have generated over 32,000 person years of employment, and, at the time of the study, there were more than 3,700 jobs within the organizations and their subsidiaries. Over 7,000 persons, most of them young people, had participated in training programs of the 15 CDC's.

Aggregates such as were used in this study mask the impact that many CDC's have had in their individual communities. In our small sample, however, we examined intensively the activities of six CDC's, including three Hispanic organizations, the Spanish Speaking Unity Council of Oakland, Chicanos Por La Causa in Phoenix, and Inquilinos Boricuas en Accion, operating in Boston's South End. It might be useful to briefly examine their achievements in these very diverse, Hispanic communities.

Let me start with the one I know best, the Unity Council in Oakland. When we started, in 1968, not only were there few services of any sort in East Oakland, but there were no Hispanic organizations with the capability to develop leadership, or undertake any type of economic development.

Our first significant economic development venture involved the Las Casitas housing project, for low and moderate-income families in Hayward. In the face of extreme skepticism, including on the part of most of the Unity Council's own board, not only was the project completed on time and within budget, but it was the first such project completed among all the CDC's then being supported by the Ford Foundation. I learned a valuable

lesson in that instance: in order to successfully execute complex economic development projects, you must have expertise. No one on my staff had the skills, but I found a Hispanic housing specialist, Ramon Rodriguez, who guided the project to successful completion.

Since then, the Unity Council has built an impressive record of achievement in economic development. Here are some of the highlights:

- Since 1968, the Council has brought more than $18 million in revenues into the community, and has built an asset base of over $9 million, with a net worth of over $3 million;

- Activities of the Unity Council and its subsidiary, Peralta Services Corporation, have created over 3,000 permanent jobs, more than 5,500 temporary jobs, and its technical assistance and loan packaging programs have resulted in the retention of nearly 3,500 jobs;

- The Unity Council has built or rehabilitated 174 units of housing and built over 30,000 square feet of commercial space;

- The Council has provided technical assistance, especially in arranging financing through local lenders, for more than 90 Hispanic and other minority businesses in the Fruitvale area. It has helped these businesses secure over $8.6 million in loans and other assistance;

- The Council was instrumental in starting City Federal Savings & Loan, one of the fastest growing Savings & Loans in the state;

- The Council has initiated 16 equity ventures, including its Thrifty Car Rental franchise at the San Francisco Airport.

These are some highlights from the Unity Council's experience in economic development. But now I want to come back to those <u>real</u> measures of performance: institutional development, attitudinal change and building human capacity. Prior to the Unity Council's creation, there was almost no investment in the Fruitvale area, Hispanic and other minority businesses could not secure badly needed financing, and there were almost no social services. The success of the Council has brought a significant change in the attitudes not only of downtown lenders and business leaders, but also in the Hispanic citizens of the area, who now understand that this is their institution, created and developed to serve their needs. The job creation, training and placement activities have served a whole generation of minority men and women, many of whom continue to come back to the Council for a variety of services.

Let me mention some other impressive economic development achievements of two other fine, Hispanic CDC's. First, there is what I regard as the Council's sister organization, Chicanos Por La Causa in Phoenix (CPLC). The Unity Council has always been especially close to the leadership of CPLC. This continues even through changes of leadership. CPLC's record of achievement is somewhat different from the Unity Council's, but equally

impressive. And Tony Espinoza, who has so skillfully guided CPLC through the past decade of its greatest growth, has become recognized not only as an important Hispanic leader, but also as one of the foremost Hispanic businessmen in the nation.

Back in 1975, when CPLC was about half a dozen years old, their total support and revenues were only about $254,000. But in the next five years, they experienced phenomenal growth, largely through the infusion of over $9 million in direct support and venture capital from CSA. By 1981, total support was over $6 million, and the organization had assets worth over $15 million, and a net worth of over $5 million.

CPLC's record in job creation and retention, physical development, and provision of social services is comparable in most respects to that of the Unity Council. Where it has scored its most impressive economic development gains, however, is in its aggressive pursuit of profitable equity ventures. Today, CPLC has more than $15 million invested in over 20 ventures, one of the most impressive records among all the CDC's in the nation.

Like the Unity Council, CPLC has demonstrated emphatically how the development of a strong institutional base can change attitudes, behavior and raise human capacity. Now there are important Maricopa County business leaders on its board, and CPLC is frequently consulted about potential investment decisions not only throughout Maricopa County, but throughout the state. In my view, one of the key behavioral changes brought about at CPLC is the conscious training and grooming of women for executive positions in the organization. For too long, the potential of Hispanic women has been ignored, not only by the larger society but within our own community. Our women must be trained, groomed and mentored and provided the opportunity to realize their fullest capacities. Nowhere is this better done than in the area of economic development. In the past half dozen years, as I have traveled about this nation, nothing has impressed me more than the emergence of Hispanic women as entrepreneurs and developers of our economic potential.

I want to mention one other Hispanic organization, which has done a tremendous job of economic development in the city of Boston. Sometimes those of us from the West tend to overlook the many significant gains being being achieved in older, Eastern cities by sister organizations like Inquilinos Boricuas en Accion (IBA). IBA had a very different origin than either the Unity Council or CPLC, which were basically created to provide badly needed Hispanic institutions and leadership where there had been none. But IBA coalesced around the refusal of low income Puerto Rican tenants to be rousted from their homes by an amoitious and impersonal urban renewal program. Today, IBA has not only salvaged many existing homes for Puerto Rican tenants, but it has created more than 800 new apartments, of extremely attractive design, created new commercial space for Hispanic shops and services, and is providing an impressive array of social services throughout the South End.

There are many other Hispanic CDC's with impressive economic development records. Certainly the Mexican-American Unity Council in San Antonio, Siete del Norte in New Mexico and TELACU in East Los Angeles, to mention only three that are well-known and have made significant contributions to their communities. Likewise, there are many Puerto Rican and Cuban organizations that have brought needed change to their communities. The diversity of the Hispanic community, and the difficulty of finding common ground is often discussed. Well, there should be no difficulty when dealing with the goals of economic development, for all of our people need the opportunities that are are created through the development of Hispanic institutions. CDC's change attitudes and behavior and strengthen human capacity to improve the quality of life.

I am firmly convinced that our best hope for creating a better economic future for all Hispanics lies in the strengthening of those institutions that generate opportunities, provide support and leadership, and bring changes in attitudes and behavior. CDC's are an important example of this type of institution, like the National Hispanic University, and other Hispanic institutions. These institutions can not only generate economic development opportunities of many varieties, but they offer the strongest link between the Hispanic community and the larger Anglo business world, where our participation has to date been so severely limited. These institutions, like our Hispanic political leadership, must have our wholehearted support. They are integral elements for our future well-being. One problem is that there simply are not enough of them. Exacerbating the problem is that it is extremely difficult to gain support from foundations and corporations, most of whom know little of our community development efforts or our institutions.

Our current circumstances also compel me to speak out as strongly as I can for all Hispanics to recognize the tremendous role that the federal government has played in the past, in helping us move closer to equality and economic parity. One of the biggest untruths around today is that the federal government can and should do nothing to bring about racial justice and the fullest possible measure of economic opportunity. All of our history tells us that this is not so, and that without the leadership of federal government, minorities will have an extremely difficult time achieving equality.

As we continue to work together to raise the level of economic capacity and achievement for all Hispanics, we also must be certain not to create economic elites, but to provide opportunities for all of our people to realize their fullest potential. We must work particularly hard to provide more opportunities for Hispanic women, most of whom continue to be shut out of the mainstream of economic life and labor in the lowest-paying, most menial jobs. This pool of latent talent is one of the strongest resources in the Hispanic community, one which we cannot afford to underutilize.

One of the key goals of this University is to bring our community together to consider our situation and generate solutions to our problems which will help us shape the economic future of this nation, and assure that all Hispanics play a role in that process.

7. FOREIGN RELATIONS

Biographical Sketch of Honorable Phillip V. Sanchez

Phillip Sanchez, a former migrant laborer, is a member of the Board of Trustees of the National Hispanic University.

As a child, he traveled with his migrant family, picking California crops and attending a variety of labor camp schools. He earned his Bachelor's and Master's degrees from Fresno State University in 1953, and later served on the Advisory Board of that institution.

In 1968 the Governor of California appointed him to the Governing Board of the California Community Colleges, and later to the Trustees of the California State Colleges and Universities.

In 1971 he recieved the first of his four consecutive appointments from the President of the United States. This was as Assistant Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Later, his appointment as National Director of OEO made him the highest ranking Hispanic appointee in the history of the U.S. government.

He was appointed U.S. Ambassador to Honduras in 1973. In 1975, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities named him Man of the Year, an award previously conferred upon President Lyndon B. Johnson and Pulitzer Prize winning author James Michener. He was named Ambassador to Colombia in 1976.

Dr. Sanchez served as Vice-President of the Pan American Bank of Los Angeles, and is President of California Management Associates of USA, a private firm engaged in international trade. He is also President of The Woodside Industries in Woodside, California, a Vice-President of the Woodside Trading Company, and Vice-President of Central Valley Bio-Energy Company of Selma, California. He served on the Board of Janus Institute, International, of Texas, and is a Colonel in the Army Reserve.

Sanchez and his wife, Juanita, have 5 children.

"THE KISSINGER REPORT
A Hispanic-American Perspective"

By Honorable Phillip V. Sanchez

INTRODUCTION

While a number of analyses, reviews or commentaries have been produced on the Report of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America ("The Kissinger Report"), none, so far, purports to view the document through the "prism" of the Hispanic-American perspective. Is there such a thing as the Hispanic-American view of such an undertaking? The National Hispanic University in the United States thinks so. And that institution feels that all Hispanics have a logical interest in pursuing the notion.

There is an emerging feeling of Hispanics in this country that they have been largely excluded from the evolutionary process of American foreign policy; that as prickly foreign policy problems shift from Europe and the Middle East to the Western Hemisphere, Hispanics suddenly find themselves facing the realities of these policies, and find themselves generally ill-prepared to participate in the debates that follow. Frustrations, doubts and even hostility have been the results.

Recently, an Hispanic-American was asked, "What would you do if suddenly we found ourselves at war with our brothers and sisters in Latin America?" The answer was a sharp retort: "You should ask me another question that is that easy to answer," he said, "I'm an American." But for others, the question is not that easily answered. Many have families in Latin countries, and for them the developing conflicts are cause for serious concern over the direction we are following. For them, the question poses some practical difficulties.

America's Hispanic-Americans are not a faceless monolith. Neither is there a universal "Hispanic-American" view of most questions. But there are common implications within the current American foreign policy which interest and concern us. And, as the eyes of the United States turn westward toward our own continents, we suddenly feel ourselves touched by a process from which we have long been isolated. Central America is in turmoil. "The central fact about Central America," wrote William Safire, New York Times syndicated columnist, "is that it is central to the defense of the United States." But there is nothing "central" about our evolving policy toward Central America. Our policy seems more characterized by uncertainty, political impasse, and by a disturbing tendency toward divisiveness.

Many Americans learn their geography not from the classroom, but from the recurring conflicts of men in a supposedly civilized world. Wars teach us about the worlds around us. How many American youngsters, for example, could remember--from mere textbooks--such names as Guam, Iwo Jima, Korea and Viet Nam? Now, perhaps, we will be seeing more Americans aware of those Latin lands which lie to our south and southeast, beyond the reaches of the United Mexican States. We find ourselves needing to take a broader

look, and as the debate broadens, more and more of our Hispanic Americans are beginning to choose sides.

Central America for many decades has been ignored and neglected by the more developed and industrialized countries. This especially includes the United States. Also, a large number of Central Americans have been neglected, and to a certain extent exploited by their own ruling classes and denied the exercise of full political freedom. Yet, all of a sudden, Central America has become the focus of attention of the industrial powers including, specifically, el coloso del norte, and the rest of the nations of the hemisphere. All have begun to show some genuine concern. The reasons vary, but the stakes are the same: specific national interests.

Among the several reasons for this sudden attention and focus, two stand out dramatically. First is the overthrow of the Somoza government in Nicaragua by the Sandinistas, a Marxist-leaning group which maintains close ties with Cuba and the rest of the communist bloc. Second is the growing spread of terrorism and violence in Central America. Guatemala and El Salvador are now witnesses and participants to armed conflict. Among the beautiful tropical landscapes, diverse groups engage in armed battles, some with outside support. They, too, are learning geography.

In addition, sporadic outbursts of violence have occurred in Honduras and even in peaceful, democratic Costa Rica. The unwilling and uninformed civilians who stand in the middle of this armed struggle for power find themselves in a quandary. They are the victims without culpability.

Most Central Americans subsist below the minimum acceptable standards of living. Most of the people in these countries are poorly educated. Many are undernourished, experience poor health and early death.

Unemployment and underemployment are very high in Central America. Most peasants have not had access to farm lands because of excessive land concentration in the hands of a few, although agrarian reforms and better land use may have diminished the percentage of landless peasants in recent years. By any standard, housing conditions are deplorable. Most people live in dwellings built with non-permanent materials and lack even the most essential sanitary facilities.

Democratic governments, as we know them, have historically been the exception rather than the norm in the Central American republics. This is partially due to the fact that in many cases those charged with the stewardship of the democratic tools of government have been the first to abuse them. The reactions, predictabley, have produced "coups," "revolutions," and "dictators," which usually are a result from internal squabbles among rival factions, sometimes outside interference. One exception is Costa Rica, a nation which has shown a preference for democratically elected governments.

Two other major factors have contributed to the recurring outbreaks of unrest in Central America. One has been the pattern of land ownership where

landholders and other power groups join in controlling the government. Also, there has generally been a lack of political maturity in a large segment of the population. This latter factor has been fed and exacerbated by a generalized lack of educational resources, both in personnel and infrastructure.

There are, to be sure, other internal and external obstacles facing democratic development in Central America. These are well documented, and they include a long tradition of the abuse of power and the misuse of public funds. The interests of Central Americans are also threatened from abroad. The Soviet Union, first through Cuba and then through Nicaragua and other extra-continental surrogates, is expanding the foothold it already has in the Caribbean.

Legitimate grievances and long-standing economic and social imbalances have been providing fertile ground for Marxist propagandists. However, the high turnouts at the elections held in Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala and El Salvador in late 1981, early 1982, and 1984 are hopeful signs. For most observers this presages a general trend in Central America toward a larger participation by the people in the formation of their political future, as well as a determination on the part of the people to work for solutions to their problems through democratic processes.

Finally, despite continued human rights problems and troubled economic and security conditions, particularly outside major population centers, progress is being made in political, economic, and social reform. Essential groundwork has been laid for progress in national reconciliation. Thus, our country's foreign policy makers find themselves in a "good-news-bad-news" situation. The good news is that identifiable progress is being made. The bad news is that not enough people seem to be aware of it. Conflicts, squabbles, charges and countercharges seem to characterize the debates on our Latin American policy initiatives. In the face of all of this, the President of the United States called for a review by a "National, Bipartisan Commission." The "Kissinger Commission" resulted.

CHAPTER I

On July 18, 1983, the President of the United States appointed the twelve-member Commission and asked it to study and make recommendations on U.S. policy towards Central America. He selected Dr. Henry Kissinger, former Secretary of State, to chair the Commission. The Commission was an attempt to respond to the need for a more informed American public concerning Central American policy. By appointing a broadly based group, the President apparently sought to sound out the widest possible diversity in order to preclude major criticisms of bias or preconception. It was, by any yardstick or measure, a truly varied group.

At the time of the appointment of the Commission, some argued that it might be merely an attempt to garner support for Reagan policies in Central America at a time of escalating criticism of our growing involvement in El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua. Some said that a Commission "whitewash" of present policy was a foregone conclusion. Others noted, however, that this might be an opportunity for a wider look at a controversial situation by a diverse, independent body which might be able to distill out a plausible course of action, if not a new national concensus.

Prior to the formation of the Commission, it was becoming more and more evident that a swift military victory was not in the offing. Accordingly, the administration had turned to other means to pursue U.S. policies in Central America. One of these was the Caribbean Basin Initiative, a program of aid, investment credits, and tariff exemptions aimed at promoting the economic development of Central American and Caribbean nations. It was announced in early 1982. The Congress adopted most of the program.

In response to growing pressures, the administration had also tried the diplomatic channels. Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders was sent to negotiate with Nicaragua in August 1981 and again in early 1982. But those efforts did not make much progress. The President also appointed former U.S. Senator Richard Stone as Ambassador-at-Large to look for possible diplomatic solutions. These included talks with representatives of the Salvadorian guerrillas. Ambassador Stone was also asked to coordinate with the Contadora Group, who were attempting to work out negotiated solutions for the region.

In November 1981, President Reagan approved a CIA plan to support the Contras, the opponents of the Sandinista regime. Less than a year later, the Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN), based in Honduras and composed mainly of anti-Sandinistas who had opposed Somoza, opened up military operations in the nothern part of Nicaragua. The arming of the Contras was criticized as illegal by Congressional opponents, and funding was cut off in the House (but later restored in the Conference Committee). During the fall of 1983, the violent right became more visibly active against democratic party and trade union leaders. The Reagan Administration then responded with a series of more visible actions, such as:

-the September 6-8 trip of Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of Defense.

-a November 8-13 visit of Under Secretary of Defense Fred Ikle, and his public condemnation of the violent right,

-a November 25 Ambassador to El Salvador Thomas Pickering speech against the violent right, and

-a December 10 letter to the President of El Salvador from President Reagan (personally delivered by Vice President Bush).

The approval of military aid for El Salvador has been a constant battle for President Reagan. There is continuing debate on the wisdom of supporting the Salvadoran military in the wake of presidential certifications of progress in those areas required by Congress--even when there seemed to be insufficient evidence of such progress. While the Commission was holding its hearings in late 1983, President Reagan vetoed the congressional bill containing new certification conditions. Congress was then in recess and could not override his veto. At the same time, the administration also had placed pressure on the Salvadoran military to improve their human rights record.

The Commission thus faced a challenging assignment. It was being charged with reviewing and evaluating America's policy in Central America, a policy which was facing escalating criticism from the Congress and from diverse sectors of the general public.

The members of the Bipartisan Commission were an interesting mix. One criticism voiced was that they seemed to have been chosen more because of their political diversity than for expertise. Only one member seemed to be a Latin American expert. This was Dr. Carlos Diaz Alejandro of Yale. Richard Scammon had been a member of the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly; Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO; John Silber, president of Boston University; Robert Strauss, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Henry Cisneros, the Mexican-American mayor of San Antonio; Wilson Jonnson, president of the National Federation of Independent Business; Nicholas Brady, Republican, was an investment banker who had been appointed Senator from New Jersey; physician William Walsh was founder of Project Hope; William Clements was former Republican governor of Texas, and Potter Steward was a retired Justice of the Supreme Court.

The Commission met for a total of 30 days in the fall of 1983, mostly in Washington. Among the "witnesses" testifying were four presidents, four Secretaries of State, members of Congress, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and a wide array of Central American experts. The Commission spent most of its time listening to hundreds of witnesses and sifting through countless reports and recommendations.

During its trip to Central America, the Commission's conservatives were taken aback by the apparent level of violence in El Salvador. Liberals were shocked to observe a high degree of coordination between the Sandinista government and Soviet intelligence (the extent of the latter was demonstrated in a government briefing given to the Commission during their visit to Nicaragua).

The group was challenged with the development of consensus. In addition, the original mandate of the Commission to make recommendations on "a long-term United States policy that will best respond to the challenge of social, economic, and democratic development in the region, and to internal and external threats to its security and stability," was intended to discourage long-term haggling on specific wording.

There was, of course, some disagreement. This was especially true on short-term issues. But it is generally conceded that the amount of agreement the Commission achieved was well within the Commission guidelines. President Reagan had asked the Commissioners to advise him on the "means of building a national consensus on a comprehensive United States policy for the region." The Commissioners seem satisfied that they did just that.

The report comprises eight chapters, two introductory statements, an historical overview, and chapters on "democracy and economic prosperity," "human development," "security, and diplomatic and regional solutions." There is also a conclusion and a section of minority dissent by individual commissioners.

CHAPTER II

THE REPORT

On January 11, 1984, President Reagan met with the members of the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America to receive their report. He noted that their report is "impressive in the depth of its analysis and in the scope and creativity of its recommendations."

According to the President's Principal Deputy Press Secretary, the President "praised the Commission for their bipartisan approach, and commended them for the task that they had performed for all Americans in defining the threat to our national security posed by the crisis in Central America." The President agreed with the Commission's finding that our response must include increased support for democratic development, improved living conditions, human rights, and security assistance. The President also agreed with the Commission's observation that more must be done in the near future and mid-term in order for their longer range recommendations to be effective.

In accepting the Commission's report, the President also took note of "the extraordinary degree of bipartisan consensus the group achieved during their intensive six month effort." He commended the ability of the group to arrive at a common understanding of the issues. The President specifically cited Lane Kirkland, Robert Strauss, and the other members of the "loyal opposition" in this regard. He observed that this very fact gives substance to their hope "that the nation, too, as it learns more about Central America . . . will find its way to a united determination."

To many of the nation's Hispanic leadership, the National Bipartisan Commission helped to focus overdue attention on the nations of their parents' birth. The recommendations of the Commission came at a critical time in the development of democracy, the restoration of peace, and the improvement of living conditions in Central America and other parts of the Western Hemisphere's developing world. America's Hispanics have long asserted that Latin America is our neglected neighbor; that this neglect has not augered well for intra-American comity.

The twelve commissioners concluded that "Central America is both vital and vulnerable, and that whatever other crises may arise to claim the nation's attention, the United States cannot afford to turn away from that threatened region." This conclusion gained noteworthy support from the Third Quadrennial National Hispanic Leadership Conference which was held in Washington in April, 1984. Many expressed hope that the President, through legislation and appropriate executive actions, would seek to implement all the Commission's recommendations, and that the members of Congress would support these actions.

The program emphasis recommended by the Commission is on economic aid and policy reform "to get at root causes of poverty and political unrest." This is a position which should easily sustain support from the Hispanic leadership. Also striking a responsive note was the Commission's recommendation that "U.S. policy must be and is guided by the principles of democratic self-determination, economic and social development that fairly benefits all, respect for human rights, and cooperation in meeting threats to the security of the region."

However, it was noted that there may be obstacles ahead in Congress. Yet bipartisan support in Congress is needed for an increased commitment of resources to be provided by the United States.

To many Hispanics, one of the most striking aspects of the Commission's report has to be its honesty -- its candor in facing up to the complexities of Central America, its focus on America's past neglect of this area. The Commission could have focused superficially on one or two "critical issues" which, if addressed in isolation, might have created the illusion of a broader solution. On the contrary, the Commission seemed reluctant to oversimplify. It acknowledged that Central America's problems are complex; that they are severe and deeply rooted. It concluded that they add up to a "seamless web" from which no quick fixes or shortcuts will free us. "The U.S. interests involved," it pointed out, "are both moral and strategic. And they are threatened by human rights abuse and by economic misery as well as by Cuban and Soviet intervention."

The Commission's recommendations are as comprehensive and direct as its analysis. It could have insisted on its mandate to deal with long-term issues -- and avoided the difficult questions we face now. It could have summarized the policies already being pursued by the Administration and given us credit for being on the right track. And it could have simply praised the peace efforts of the Central American countries and the central importance of negotiations like those under way in the Contadora process.

But the Commission concluded that "the long-term will be far less manageable if we fail to deal with existing challenges." It called for U.S. support of regional efforts like those of the Contadora Group but said that the United States also has a special responsibility to contribute actively to the creation of economic, security, and political conditions required for peace. It concluded that we are not doing enough and recommended that the Administration and the Congress cooperate to provide the resources needed to attain "a lasting peace built solidly on democracy and development."

The Commission's far-reaching, seemingly numberless discussions with Central and Latin American leaders eliminated the problems created by distance. The aim seemed to be that of exposing its members to the region's realities. The diverse members of the Commission were allowed to see for themselves what is happening in El Salvador, in Nicaragua and throughout the region. It seems to have been a broad, comprehevnsive look.

From these experiences the Commission seems to have developed an updated perspective on Central America that combines:

-- An apparent understanding of the capacity of social and economic frustration to undermine stability and progress in the Hemisphere s developing nations;

-- A new knowledge of how world economic developments can influence, and at times devastate, struggling economies;

-- A sophisticated understanding of the tactics and tools of foreign ideologies which would exploit these vulnerabilities and threaten the development of democracy;

-- A recommended American concensus for responding to the economic and political realities of Central America.

What emerges from the Commission's report is the Central American dynamic itself. It is a dynamic in which violence and dictatorship feed on misery, injustice and an unfortunate past. It is a destructive dynamic that oppresses the people of Central America, and will, unless altered, increasingly endanger the rest of the Hemisphere.

MAJOR THEMES OF THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL BIPARTISAN COMMISSION ON CENTRAL AMERICA

The Report, which is dedicated to the late Senator Henry (Scoop) Jackson, consists of the following chapter subject matter:

1. Introduction sets forth basic themes.
2. Places crisis in larger hemispheric context.
3. Provides historical perspective.
4. Examines prospects for economic and political development; presents recommendations.
5. Discusses social issues -- health and education particularly -- and makes recommendations.
6. Explores security issues and recommends U.S. action.
7. Looks at diplomatic aspects and offers recommendations on pursuing negotiated settlements.
8. Conclusion.

On security and diplomatic issues, the report deals with El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala and Costa Rica. Panama and Belize (formerly British Honduras) are included for discussion of development programs.

The several chapters of the Report develop the following themes:

GENERAL

-- The crisis in Central America had indigenous roots: poverty, injustice and closed political systems. But world economic recession and Cuban-Soviet-Nicaraguan intervention brought it to a head.

-- The crisis must be addressed at once. Ultimate resolutions depend on economic progress, social and political reform. But insurgencies must be checked if lasting progress is to be made on these fronts.

-- Indigenous reform, even indigenous unrest, is no threat to the U.S. But the exploitation by outside powers of local grievances for political and strategic advantage is a serious threat. Our objective should be to reduce Central American conflicts to Central American dimensions.

-- The United States has fundamental interests at stake: Soviet-Cuban success and resulting collapse of Central American nations would compel substantial increase in our security burden, or redeployment of forces to the detriment of vital interests elsewhere.

-- As a nation we have a deep and historic interest in promotion and preservation of democracy. Pluralistic societies are what Central Americans want. In this case our strategic interests and our ideals coincide.

-- Central Americans need our help and we have a moral obligation to provide it.

-- No quick solutions can be expected. The U.S. must make a long-term commitment and stick to a coherent policy. That policy must be bipartisan.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

-- Central American economies grew substantially during the 60's and early 70's. But income distribution was highly inequitable, except in Costa Rica and Panama.

-- The trend toward more pluralistic political systems in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua was reversed in the early 70's.

-- World recession and rising political violence had a catastrophic effect on the region's economies in late 70's, early 80's. All have declined dramatically.

-- Even with successful stabilization programs and restored political stability, per capita wealth in 1990 would only be three-quarters of what it was in 1980.

-- There must be a substantial increase in outside assistance.

-- Economic development cannot be separated from political and social reform. The objective must be parallel development of pluralistic societies and strong economies with far more equitable distribution of wealth.

-- There must be a program of U.S. assistance designed to promote economic growth, democratization and greater social equity.

-- There must be the greatest possible involvement of the U.S. private sector in the stabilization effort. Also needed is an emergency action committee of private sector personalities to provide advice on new private-public initiatives to spur growth and employment.

EMERGENCY STABILIZATION

-- Leaders of U.S. and Central America should reactivate the Central American Common Market. An emergency loan should be provided.

-- A $400 million supplemental budget should be provided in Fiscal Year 1984 over and above the $477 million now in the budget for the seven countries of Central America.

-- Assistance should be focused on labor-intensive infrastructure projects and housing.

-- A program should be initiated to provide U.S. government guarantees for short-term trade credits.

-- The U.S. should take an active role in the efforts to resolve the external debt problems of Central America, and should encourage the countries that have not done so to seek multilateral rescheduling.

-- We should encourage commercial banks to renegotiate at the lowest possible interest rates.

MEDIUM AND LONG-TERM

-- Approximately $24 billion in net external exchange inflows are needed to 1990 to foster a growth rate of three percent per capita, returning these countries to pre-recession levels of per capita wealth. About half -- $12 billion -- should come from international institutions, other donor countries, and loans and investments from private sector sources.

-- The U.S. government will have to provide as much as $12 billion if these financing needs are to be met.

-- The U.S. government should provide a program of $8 billion over the next five fiscal years (FY85-89). This would be divided very roughly into about $6 billion in appropriated funds, and about $2 billion in contingent liabilities covering guarantees, insurance and the like.

-- Congress should authorize multi-year funding of this program.

-- There should be established a Central American Development Organization (CADO).

-- CADO should consist of the United States and those countries of the seven willing to commit themselves to internal democracy and reform.

-- Nicaragua could participate by meeting these conditions.

-- CADO's principal body would be a Development Council with tripartite, ILO-style representation. CADO would assess program and progress toward economic growth, democratization, reform and preservation of human rights.

-- Other democracies should be invited to join.

ADDITIONAL STABILIZATION MEASURES

-- Expanded assistance from the U.S. government for democratic institutions and leadership training -- neighborhood groups, cooperatives, binational centers and visitor programs for leaders of labor unions, local governments and other organizations.

-- A firm commitment by the Central Americans to economic policies, including reforms in tax systems, to encourage private enterprise and individual initiative, to create favorable investment climates, to curb cor-

ruption where it exists, and to spur balanced trade.

-- Extension of duty-free trade to Central America by other major trading nations.

-- Review of non-tariff barriers to imports from Central America with a view toward using whatever flexibility that exists within the framework of multilateral agreements, to favor Central American products.

-- The United States to join the Central American Bank for Economic Integration (CABEI).

-- Technical and financial support for export promotion, and a U.S. government review of non-tariff barriers to Central American Imports.

-- Expanded availability of insurance guarantees for new investments from the U.S. government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC).

-- Increased focus in assistance programs on small business and accelerated agricultural development -- particularly in production of food for domestic consumption.

HEALTH AND EDUCATION

-- Democracy and prosperity in the region require accelerated human development. Hunger, disease and illiteracy sap a people's vitality, and impede the growth of viable democratic institutions.

-- Literacy rates are unacceptably low in several countries (e.g., Guatemala 45%, El Salvador 63%, Honduras 60%), handicapping education efforts seriously.

-- Widespread malnutrition also handicaps education by sending physically and mentally underdeveloped children to school.

-- Goals should include a reduction of malnutrition, elimination of illiteracy, expanded education, health, and housing opportunities.

-- Initial efforts must be to increase food assistance to Central America through the Public Law 480 (PL 480).

-- Develop, under the direction of the Peace Corps, a Literacy Corps and a Central American Teachers Corps.

-- Raise U.S. government scholarships to approximately 10,000 over four to six years, a level comparable to Cuban and Soviet Union efforts.

-- Encourage educational reform in the areas of technical and vocational education, through the expansion of the International Executive Service Corps (IESC), and through closer cooperation with Central American universities.

-- Strengthen the judicial systems in Central America by providing resources for training judges, judicial staff, and public prosecutors.

-- Continue and expand existing programs for disease control and eradication, as well as immunization and oral re-hydration.

-- Expand training of primary health workers, especially nurses, and develop means to integrate private and public financing of health services.

-- Target assistance programs to the area's severe housing shortage.

-- Train public administrators to improve the public service.

-- Provide more U.S. government resources to meet critical problems of refugees and displaced persons.

SECURITY ISSUES

-- In El Salvador there are two separate conflicts: (1) between those seeking democratic reform and those seeking to retain their privileges; (2) between Marxist-Leninist guerrillas and those who oppose Marxism-Leninism.

-- In discussing the latter three general propositions were identified about such guerrilla movements:

(1) They depend on external support. Without it they are unlikely to succeed.
(2) They develop their own momentum, which reform alone cannot stop.
(3) Victorious, they create totalitarian regimes, even though they have enlisted support of democratic elements in order to project a democratic, reformist image.

-- External support comes from Soviet Union, Cuba and now Nicaragua. Cuba has developed into a leading military power through Soviet assistance. Since the Sandinista victory, Soviets have come around to support the Cuban strategy of an armed road to power in Central America.

-- There are serious strategic implications for the United States in Soviet-Cuban support for armed insurgency in the region. These include:

(1) Triumph of hostile forces there could require us to devote large resources to defend our southern approaches.
(2) This could mean either a substantially increased defense burden for the United States, or a redeployment of forces.
(3) Threat to our shipping lanes in the Caribbean.
(4) Increased violence and dislocation in the area from which we could not isolate ourselves.
(5) Erosion of our power to influence events world-wide if we are perceived as unable to influence events close to home.

EL SALVADOR

-- The war is stalemated, a condition which gives the ultimate advantage to the guerrillas.

-- U.S. military assistance is inadequate to permit modern, humane and successful counter-insurgency.

-- The United States should provide significantly increased levels of military assistance for greater mobility, more training, higher force levels, and more equipment.

-- Assistance should be conditioned through legislation on terminating death squads, progress toward democracy, and estabishment of the rule of law.

-- In Guatemala, such assistance should only be provided if the same terms are met.

-- Increased military assistance should be provided to Honduras to build a credible deterrent, and to confront renewed efforts at insurgency.

-- U.S. security interests are importantly engaged in Central America. Larger programs of military assistance are needed, as well as expanded support for economic growth and social reform.

-- Success will depend on an end to massive violations of human rights and upon the neutralization of external support for the insurgencies.

THE SEARCH FOR PEACE

-- A successful U.S. political strategy in Central America requires resources to promote economic growth; vigorous efforts to advance democracy and reform; other inducements and penalties.

-- The general strategic objective of U.S. diplomacy in Central America should be to reduce the civil wars, national conflicts, and military preparations to a Central American dimension.

-- We should seek to stop the war and killing in El Salvador. We should create conditions under which Nicaragua becomes a peaceful and democratic member of the Central American community, and open the way for democratic development in all countries.

-- Negotiations should take place in El Salvador between guerrillas and the government to be elected, so as to establish conditions for periodic legislative and municipal elections in which all could participate.

-- Military stalemate works against, rather than for, a political settlement based on the popular will.

-- In Nicaragua, consolidation of a Marxist-Leninist regime would create a permanent security threat. Cuban personnel (2,000 military advisers and 6,000 civilian officials), several hundred Soviet, East European, Libyan and PLO advisers, extensive arms deliveries (13,000 tons in 1983), add an external dimension to the threat posed by Nicaragua to its neighbors.

-- There is an external threat posed by the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, supported by Cuban military strength, backed Soviet weapons, guidance and diplomacy, and integrated into the Cuban network of intelligence and subversion.

-- There must be a comprehensive regional settlement based on:

(1) Respect for sovereignty and non-intervention.
(2) Verifiable commitments to non-aggression and an end to all attempts at subversion -- covert or overt.
(3) Limitations on arms and sizes of armed forces. Prohibition of foreign forces, bases and advisers.
(4) Prohibition of military forces, bases or advisers from non-Central American countries.
(5) Commitment to internal pluralism and free elections in all countries.
(6) Provision for verification of all agreements.
(7) Establishment of an inter-government council to meet regularly to review compliance.
(8) Adherence to the overall agreement as a requirement for membership in the Central American Development Organization.

-- The U.S. should support the agreement and provide assistance. The U.S. should commit itself to respect results of elections within countries as long as the principle of pluralism at home and restraint abroad is observed.

-- The Commission fully endorses the efforts of the Contadora Group.

-- A majority of the Commission opposes dismantling existing incentives and pressures for the regime in Managua to negotiate seriously.

-- There is little possibility of separating Cuba from the Soviet Union. The U.S. should be prepared to negotiate seriously if Cuba were to show itself prepared for genuine coexistence, dropping a support for insurgency in Central America and revolutionary violence elsewhere in the world.

-- There is little promise in negotiating with the Soviet Union over Central America. The Soviets would seek to cast such negotiations in terms of sphere of influence, an unacceptable concept for the United States.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS

It was the late Senator Henry Jackson who proposed the establishment of "a Bipartisan Commission on Central America." He saw that the crisis in that region called for a truly "national" response, above party lines; indeed, above partisanship of any kind. As a man who devoted his life to the national welfare, he well knew that such a challenge demanded a bipartisan policy. In his mind, actually, was a model of the Marshall Plan, that historic example of how the Congress and the Executive can work together across party lines to safeguard the National interest and advance our Nation's ideals. The Reagan-appointed Commission fell short of recommending a full-scale "Marshall Plan."

Speaking before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Commission Chairman Henry Kissinger declared: "In the spirit in which the Commission was conceived, we have delivered to the President and the Congress a report reflecting a broad and truly bipartisan consensus on the basic issues for U.S. policy in Central America. It seeks to convey an objective account of what we found to be the realities of Central America and of what we believe should be done for the good of our neighbors there -- and for the good of the United States."

Following is a summarized analysis of what the Commission consensus embraces.

First, the Commission determined unanimously that the United States has fundamental interests, including national security interests, at stake in Central America. The members concluded that these interests are in jeopardy because of an acute crisis in the region -- a very real crisis demanding urgent action.

The Commission agreed that the Central American situation has indigenous roots which lie in a long history of the exploitation of the many by the few -- in social injustice, maldistribution of national income, closed political systems and governmental oppression. It concluded, also, that in its judgment Central America's predicament has been brought to a head by the confluence of Soviet-Cuban intervention and international economic recession.

The Commission determined that a restoration of economic growth alone would not reach the roots of the Central American crisis; that the overwhelming majority of Central Americans aspire to live in freedom; and that the cornerstone of the program it proposes is the commitment of all the nations of Central America to democratization -- and a corresponding com-

mitment by the United States to support and assist in that process.

The Commission's report argues that more widespread economic opportunity is vital to the region's future. Accordingly, it proposes a series of measures to support agricultural development, strengthen small business and the small farmer, and promote cooperatives.

The Commission discussed at length the dearth in Central America of basic education, sound health measures and housing. It recommends measures to address disease and malnutrition among children, to eradicate malaria and dengue fever, to broaden literacy and primary education, and to expand low-cost housing programs (particularly through private-sector initiatives).

The Commission calls for immediate action to revitalize economic and social conditions in Central America by recommending an increase in economic assistance of $400 million. But the Commission recognized that it will take many years to overcome the legacies of social injustice and economic under-development. Therefore, it emphasized the necessity for a long-term program, solidly based on coherent and steady U.S. policy.

Speaking on the total recommended aid figure, Dr. Kissinger said: "What we are recommending in tabling the figure of $8 billion for economic assistance over the next five fiscal years is not much more than double what the United States is doing now. This figure reflects a careful analysis of the region's external financing requirements, and is based on what I would describe as rather optimistic assumptions." "It is a moderate request," he added.

The report proposes that authorities at a high level of our government meet with Central American counterparts to negotiate the creation of the Central American Development Organization (CADO), an organization which would serve as a channel for significant external assistance to the region.

A fundamental conclusion reached was that the various elements of the crisis -- the economic, social, political and security issues -- form, as the report puts it, "a seamless web." "They cannot be separated," it said. "Each impacts one on the other." According to Dr. Kissinger, that is why the Commission proposed a comprehensive program to deal with all these elements.

To the surprise of many, the Commission's report included some rather detailed discussions on security issues, reporting at length on its findings regarding the extent of Soviet-Cuban activities in the area.

To deal with these issues, the Commission's report proposed a vigorous negotiating effort directed toward including Nicaragua in a regional settlement designed to ensure lasting security guarantees for all the nations of Central America. Such a settlement would be squarely based on the principles contained in the 21-point proposal of the Contadora Group. These would include non-intervention and respect for national sovereignty; an end to the arms traffic and other actions directed at subverting

governments; the prohibition of foreign military forces; and the commitment by all countries of the region to internal pluralism and free elections.

The Commission attached great importance to vigorous diplomatic efforts on the part of the United States, as the Report states, "to achieve the broad objectives of:

-- stopping the war and the killing in El Salvador
-- creating conditions under which Nicaragua can take its place as a peaceful and democratic member of the Central American community; and
-- opening the way for democratic development throughout the isthmus."

But Chairman Kissinger also stated that: "We cannot escape the fact that the Cubans, Soviets and Nicaraguan Sandinistas are engaged in a serious and substantial effort to promote Marxist-Leninist revolution in the region. The armed insurgents who serve their cause are unlikely to perceive negotiations as anything more than a tactical maneuver as long as they believe they can win power on the field of battle." "Diplomacy and negotiations do not take place in a vacuum," he added.

In addition, the Report concluded that the diplomatic effort can complement but not substitute for the other actions necessary to an increased sense of security and rising prospects for political and economic progress in the region. It was the view of the Commission that to attempt to deal singly with any one aspect -- diplomatic, economic, political or security - would be a certain recipe for failure. Thus, the Report recommends increased military assistance "under proper conditions" to the governments of El Salvador and Honduras.

Although the Report speaks generally of consensus, the members of the Commission attached six notes to report offering individual views on certain of its aspects. Two concern the anti-Sandinista guerrillas -- the so-called Contras -- and one supports conditionality as applied to military aid to El Salvador (but asks that it not be interpreted in a way that would lead to a Marxist-Leninist victory in that country). Another note concerns the conviction of one member that the report should have stressed to a greater and more specific degree the need to facilitate Central American exports to the United States.

At the conclusion of his testimony before the Foreign Affairs Committee, Chairman Kissinger declared: "Finally, Mr. Chairman, we on the Commission are well aware that many obstacles stand in the way of achieving the goals of our report. We have been told, as this Committee will be told, that virtually every one of our recommendations is impossible to achieve for one reason or another. Many arguments can be found for inaction in the face of the extraordinarily complex problems at issue in Central America. But my colleagues and I can with persistence and resolution accomplish much of what we propose -- and by so doing advance our interests and those of our neighbors. We do not promise success. But

it is our conviction that failure to make the effort now will later cost this nation dearly."

Clearly, the challenge facing the United States is a thorny one. It has deep roots and thus it does not lend itself to a quick and ready solution. But the long-term challenge also requires short-term actions, actions which should no longer be postponed. It is no longer feasible to shrug off our approach as "the Reagan policy."

The best route to consensus on U.S. policy toward Central America is by exposure to the realities of Central America. The Bipartisan Commission has experienced this exposure, and now proposes a concensus.

Central America is our near neighbor. We can make a difference there. The Commission has clearly shown that the challenge is already there; that it is not "emerging" nor "potential;" and that it is not going to go away.

The United States should have paid more attention to Central America sooner. Some approaches, such as the Franklin Roosevelt "Good Neighbor Policy" and John F. Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" were steps in the right direction.

But the tortured and complicated history of Central America is such that neither the military, nor the political, nor the economic, nor the social aspects of the crisis should be considered in isolation.

We now know that unless we can make rapid progress on the political, economic and social fronts, a stable peace on the military front will be hard to come by.

We also know that the final solution to Central America's problems will depend on the people of Central America. But they do need our help. To call it simply "intervention" is to hide our head in the sand, to ignore the realities of the sand. It would be a reversion to untimely political rhetoric.

The international purposes of the United States in the late twentieth century should continue to be cooperation, not hegemony or domination; partnership, not confrontation; a decent life for all, not exploitation. Our country must not forget that in the development of our policies there is an untapped resource. It is called Americans of Hispanic descent. We share cultures, languages, ideas and values with all the American Republics. In great measure, they are literally our brothers and sisters.

Finally, we must all come to the realization that our relationships with Mexico, Central and South America rank in importance with our ties to Europe and Asia. Can we afford to be our brothers' and sisters' keepers? Perhaps we can't afford not to be.

8. IMMIGRATION

Biographical Sketch of Antonia Hernandez

Antonia Hernandez is the employment litigation director for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (M.A.L.D.E.F.), based in Los Angeles. Ms. Hernandez previously was M.A.L.D.E.F.'s Washington D.C. Associate Counsel. In that capacity Ms. Hernandez was a key figure in the advocacy against the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration legislation bill.

Ms. Hernandez's career includes experience as a legal aid lawyer in Los Angeles and as staff counsel to the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary.

Ms. Hernandez was born in Torreon-Coahuila, raised in East Los Angeles and earned a bachelor's degree and teaching credential at UCLA. Ms. Hernandez is married and has two children.

IMMIGRATION

By Antonia Hernandez,
Vice President,
MALDEF

To Hispanics and specifically to Mexican Americans, immigration policy has unfortunately played a significant role in our development. Any historian searching to find our place in American history will do well to study the immigration policy of the United States. The American myth symbolized in the Statue of Liberty defies reality and ignores this nation's historically anti-Hispanic immigrant sentiment.

At present, a national debate rages about modifications in our archaic and outmoded immigration policy. It has been a prolonged and bitter controversy in which we Hispanics have played a key role. Yet our involvement has been reactive. We have been forced to assume a defensive mode, always justifying our positions, and assuring the public that as Americans we, too, have a stake in the debate. For a community in transition, growing and fighting for its rightful place in society, it is imperative that we develop and articulate a cohesive immigration policy, one that will not only serve our own self-interest, but that of the whole nation. We are in a unique position to offer such an alternative.

To refrain from accepting this challenge will only prolong, if not totally retard, our quest for economic, social, and political equality.

In articulating the Hispanic perspective to U.S. immigration policy, four elements must be considered. First, an analysis of the relationship of immigration to our economic welfare and that of the nation as a whole is essential. Second, immigration policy has always embodied social and racial considerations. Therefore, our sensitivity to these concerns must be well-delineated. Third, closely related to racial and social concerns, is the element of Hispanic cohesion, i.e., what impact will the infusion of future Hispanic immigrants have on our respective communities and the nation. Finally, there are past, present and future foreign policy considerations. This last concern is becoming of increasing significance since the political instability in Central and Latin America will surely have a direct impact on Hispanics.

Hispanics' basic concern with U.S. immigration policy is that it often has serious civil, economic, and political consequences for the U.S. Hispanic population. There are more than 15 million Hispanic citizens and legal residents in the United States.[1] In addition, it is estimated that the undocumented population is between two and 3.5 million, with slightly over 50% of Mexican origin.[2] Our origins vary. We are Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, Central and South American. All Hispanics live and work alongside each other and are indistinguishable from the undocumented population. Therefore, our enjoyment of rights and

privileges depends to a large degree on the ways in which American legal, political and social institutions perceive and react to immigration, and, in particular, to undocumented immigration.

The impact of Hispanic population growth and future immigration trends are interconnected. The concentration of the native Hispanic population parallels settlement patterns of the recent immigrant population, thus accentuating the concentration of Hispanics into large and potentially powerful communities. According to the 1980 census, of the 14.6 million Hispanics, more than sixty percent are of Mexican origin, 14 percent are of Puerto Rican extraction who live in the mainland, six percent are Cuban and eight percent come from Central and Latin America.[3] According to the 1981 Immigration and Naturalization Service Statistical Year Book, over half of the Mexican legal residents reporting gave California as their residence. Over forty percent of all immigrants settle in the Southwest and Florida.[4]

ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

Historically, our contributions to the Southwest have been substantial. However, one finds little evidence of rewards for these contributions. New Mexico's governor, Toney Anaya, states that Hispanics, the people who have picked the lettuce, now have the potential to pick the next president of the United States. He cogently brings together our past and potential future.

Many Mexican Americans can trace their ancestry to the 16th century. Moreover, up to 1848, much of the Southwest belonged to Mexico. Yet, American public perception is that we are foreign immigrant laborers who are to be tolerated when needed and expelled once demand for cheap, disposable labor has been met.

Our contributions to the building of the Southwest is well-established. By the late 19th and early 20th century, Mexican origin natives and a small number of immigrants had become an important factor in the economic growth of the Southwest. Industrialism was growing and cheap labor was needed both on the farms and in industrial centers. From 1900 to 1921, forty percent of the nation's fruit and truck crops were produced by a labor force comprised of 65 to 85 percent Mexican Americans.[5] In the early 1920's the Immigration Act of 1917 was temporarily suspended and Mexican immigrant workers were encouraged to migrate to the United States. But, like today, that welcome was not extended by all segments of the U.S. community. Restrictionists argued that by failing to incorporate restrictive provisions for the Western Hemisphere and particularly Mexico, the back door was being left open, thus endangering the future of America. Labor, and in particular the American Federation of Labor, argued that restrictions had to be imposed. Sufficient workers were available and to continue with unrestricted immigration would result in the degradation of the American standard of living. Of course, most Mexican workers were excluded from union participation. During the depression of 1929, over 400,000 Mexicans were deported.[6] Among them were countless citizens. Again in 1954 the National Guard in Texas and

California apprehended and deported about one million Mexican Americans.[7]

As we participate in today's immigration debate it is well to note that during the Congressional hearings on immigration of 1928 a Texas farmer summarized his views of Mexicans by stating, "The influx of Mexican peons is already taxing our schools beyond their capacity; it is lowering our educational standing, it is creating an unhealthy political condition and will ultimately result in the most serious consequences."[8] There is little difference between the debate of the 1920's and today's debate. The only major difference is that today Hispanics have the potential power to influence the political process and contribute to the development of a more humane policy.

Economically, Hispanics must understand the dynamics of migratory flows. A study, entitled "The Fourth Wave, California's Newest Immigrants," issued by the highly respected Urban Institute sets forth not only the economic contributions of undocumented and documented immigrant workers, but also highlights the potential problems that our community will face if certain problems are not addressed. Among its findings were the following:

- The presence of Mexican immigrants in Southern California did not cause unemployment to rise among non-Hispanic minorities, particularly Blacks.

- About 645,000 jobs were added in Los Angeles County between 1970 and 1980. Recent Mexican immigrants hold about one-third of these jobs, while other recent immigrants hold somewhat more than a third.

- Almost one-half of all Mexican immigrants finding jobs in Southern California since 1970 are employed as production workers in manufacturing. Their presence reduces wages in low-skill occupations relative to other wages.

- Lower wages enabled manufacturing firms in highly competitive industries to expand during the 1970's, despite the influx of imported goods.

- The presence of Mexican workers outside the manufacturing sector has led to higher profits for business and lower prices to consumers.

- Despite high unemployment rates in Southern California during the early 1980's, current residents can meet less than half the prospective labor needs during this decade. The remainder must be met by workers from outside the state.

- About the same number of undocumented workers arriving in the region during the 1980's can be expected to find work as was the case in the 1970's.

- The projected rise throughout Southern California in the number of foreign-born students will lead to more all-Hispanic schools and exacerbate the shortage of trained bilingual teachers.

- The considerable economic gap between Mexicans and other ethnic groups will widen further unless schools can train and the job market absorb more skilled Mexican workers.

- State expenditures for public services used by Mexican immigrants have not been offset by taxes paid by this immigrant group, primarily because Mexcians' earnings are low.[9]

Hispanics are a young and growing population.[10] Most immigrants coming to the United States are also youthful and motivated. Unfortunately, both native Hispanics and recent immigrants are generally unskilled and undereducated. Unless we address these problems we will not be able to take advantage of three significant economic trends. First, Hispanics are concentrated in a part of the country that has been experiencing rapid economic growth. Second, this country is undergoing a drastic economic realignment. We are changing from an industrial economy to a service, high technology information-gathering economy. The Southwest has taken the lead in the development of this new economy. Third, in the 1980's, this nation, and California in particular, will need more workers in order to maintain its economic growth.[11]

The growing economic gap between Hispanics and the rest of society will continue and become a fixed reality.[12] The problem of overcrowded, understaffed and resource poor schools will only aggravate the economic gap.[13] Our public school system must begin now to address the short supply of bilingual teachers, increase and redistribute resources more equitably. It is our responsibility to demand and work for these changes; the future of our community and our children rest upon this. Finally, many economists believe that the United States will encounter a labor shortage in the coming decade. As a community, we must overcome the economic obstacles of the past if we are to prepare for the future and seek full participation in the economy of this country.

SOCIAL AND RACIAL CONSIDERATIONS

Social, cultural, and racial concerns have historically been the leading factors determining America's immigration policy. Americans are schizophrenic. Our society likes to perpetuate the myth that Americans welcome the poor and the hungry; yet, intolerance and suspicion more accurately reflect our anti-immigrant history.

Although this country was developed by immigrants up to the mid-nineteenth Century, the racial composition of the immigrant stock of that era was homogeneous--Caucasian and Northern European. Racial prejudice, although common, was confined to color (Blacks, Asians, Mexican-Indians) and anyone who did not look Northern European. The Anglo-Saxon believed that racially they were superior, possessing vigorous self-assertiveness, higher intelligence, and the capability to parti-

cipate in a democracy.[14] The change in the composition of the immigrants in the 1890's and early 1900's gave rise to a new wave of anti-immigrant sentiment. The eastern European immigrants looked different and held different religious views. Many alarmed Americans demanded restrictive immigration policies. They feared that our democracy was endangered. Media reports cautioned against "alien flood", "barbarian horde", and "foreign tides". Many argued that America was suffering from "alien indigestion".[15] And, although the debate in Congress centered on the southwestern European flow, immigration from Mexico was also a concern. In fact, many argued that by not limiting immigration from Mexico, America was leaving the back door open.

During this century, Mexican Americans have continued to suffer racial prejudice. We all remember the repatriation of the 1930's and Operation Wetback in 1954.[16] Today, America is preoccupied with Hispanic phobia. The debate surrounding bilingual education, the renewal of the bilingual provisions of the Voting Rights Act and immigration is clouded by racial fear and xenophobia.

In most respects the fears expressed and the solutions offered by the American people to the present anti-immigrant sentiment is familiar and outmoded. Yet, we Hispanics must realize that there are significant differences which we must understand and address. Unlike previous immigration flows, the present flow contains fewer European stock. Two out of every five immigrants are Spanish-speaking,[17] and Asians comprise the next largest group. Second, the conditions of the home country are more important than the economic conditions in the U.S. in determining whether or not the immigrant leaves; e.g., a poor Salvadoran would much rather be hungry but alive in the U.S. Third, and extremely important to Hispanics, is the choice of a substantial number of the new immigrants to live in California and the Southwest. Los Angeles has become a racially varied metropolis. Alongside the Mexican barrio one finds large homogeneous Cuban and Salvadoran communities. Mexican Americans throughout the United States are becoming latinized. Our ability to reach out and embrace this diversity is essential. The political, economic and social consequences will be severe if we do not incorporate the diversity of the new Western hemisphere immigrant. Proponents of a restrictive immigration policy make it clear that racial consideration is important. Senator Alan Simpson, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Policy, and chief proponent of the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill, defines our national interest as follows:

> "The maintenance of...freedom, safety, an adequate standard of living, and political independence and stability. It also includes the preservation of cultural qualities and national institutions... (and) even of more fundamental interest, the maintenance of the attributes of America which make it familiar to them and, uniquely, their homeland".[18]

The underlying assumption is that the increase of Third World immigrants endanger the future of America. Today it is the Hispanic and

Asian immigrant who is feared. The reluctance to accept the new immigrant is based on misconceptions and xenophobia. Polls reflect that if the issue is presented in a non-biased manner, Americans in general have positive attitudes towards immigrants and refugees.[19] As Hispanics, we must accept the responsibility of educating and informing the public. Our understanding of the social dynamics is crucial.

PENDING IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

During the last century, our immigration policy has undergone three major revisions. The changes, in 1924, 1952, and 1965, attempted to adopt a more socially neutral, pro-family, unification policy. Yet in the main, our immigration policy continues to be restrictive and anti-immigrant. The pending immigration proposal, the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, unfortunately is no different.

Twice in 1982 and 1983, the United States Senate overwhelmingly approved immigration legislation to overhaul our outdated immigration laws. This legislation provides for stricter law enforcement, employer sanctions with civil/criminal penalties, an eventual identity card, a punitive and complicated legalization program, and lower annual ceilings. It creates a separate adminstrative body to process appeals, it liberalizes the H-2 guest worker program and resurrects the old bracero program.

Proponents of Simpson-Mazzoli point to the comprehensiveness of the legislation to give credence to their contention that it would solve this country's perceived immigration problem. Unfortunately, if passed, the law would be unworkable, unenforceable, costly and discriminatory. The proposed legislation fails because it does not address immigration in a broad and objective manner.

The Simpson-Mazzoli bill combines three separate migration phenomenon. No distinction is made between legal migration, undocumented migration, and the ever-increasing flow of political refugees coming from Central and South America. The focus of this legislation is exclusively domestic. Very little attention is given to the interrelationship of domestic concerns and foreign policy priorities. The discussion has focused on fear: the fear that undocumented workers are adversely impacting the domestic labor market, fear of cultural non-assimilation, and Hispanic-phobia.

The interests of this country vis-a-vis immigration have been ill-defined and as a consequence, should this legislation pass, it will not solve many of the immigration problems. Moreover, the proponents of the Simpson-Mazzoli proposal argue that undocumented migration is out of control. Thus, the overriding force behind this legislation is to curtail the flow, through the adoption of employer sanctions.

The principal assumption underlying the concept of employer sanctions is that illegal migration is caused by poverty. People come to the U.S. to seek a better life. To stop the flow of undocumented immigrants, the Federal government, therefore, must remove the economic

incentive that brings them here. This is a simplistic and incomplete analysis. While economics is one factor, it is not the only one. On the contrary, experts on the subject of international migration recognize that the decision to emigrate results from an interplay of political, social, and economic considerations; political instability; population pressures; social networks and kinship ties; high unemployment; and other factors. Enforcement of immigration policy through employer sanctions does not adequately address these complex considerations. This failure to deal with the underlying causes of mass migration renders employer sanctions ineffectual as a means of stopping illegal migration.

Immigration restrictionists, organized labor, and other proponents of the pending legislation have undertaken a massive media campaign to mislead the American public about the impact of undocumented workers. Most experts who have studied the domestic impact of the undocumented worker cannot reach a consensus of the economic impact of the worker. The majority, however, conclude that there is no adverse impact to the economy as a whole. Moreover, since migrants concentrate in certain regions, the economic impact to some regions is more positive than negative. Besides the Urban Institute report cited above, a U.S. Chamber of Commerce study showed that in 1981 states with the highest concentration of undocumented workers (e.g., California, Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Texas and Utah) had an unemployment rate lower than states with low concentrations of undocumented workers (e.g., Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, Indiana, Michigan).[20]

Efforts to identify the undocumented population have not been fully successful. Yet according to the 1980 Census, about 2.5 to 3 million undocumented workers are living in the U.S. Of this total, undocumented Mexicans account for approximately 50%.[21] Thus, efforts to amend our immigration laws must include provisions that recognize these persons by legalizing the undocumented community. The ultimate goal of such legislation is to bring a large underclass of persons presently residing in the U.S. into the mainstream of our society and under the protections of our laws. The design of any legalization program must be simple, humane, broad-reaching and workable. The eligibility criteria must be clear-cut and the cut-off date should not exclude large segments of the undocumented population. The offer to adjust the status of the undocumented must be presented in a way which will not discourage persons from coming forward for fear of being found ineligible and subject to deportation. Furthermore, such a program must assure that family units are not subject to prolonged separations.

Both the employer sanctions and the legalization provisions are considered by proponents of this legislation to be essential in addressing undocumented migration. The controversy and debate usually focuses on the unregulated flow of migration. Unfortunately, the restrictive mood in Congress goes beyond controlling undocumented migration. The pending immigration bill also seeks to curtail legal migration. The Presidential Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee's reported an overwhelming positive response to legal migration.[22] Most immigration experts feel that our present level is low and should be increased

slightly. However, due to restrictionist pressures, the bill passed by the Senate imposes a cap on all legal migration and for the first time includes immediate family members seeking to immigrate in the overall ceiling.

The proposed adoption of an H-2 guestworker provision further illustrates the hypocrisy of this country's immigration and labor force intentions. On the one hand, it is asserted that this country is inundated by hordes of undocumented Mexicans. But at the same time, American businesses insist on maintaining access to cheap foreign labor. As Hispanics, we have experienced the inequities of past bracero programs.[23] Given this past, our opposition to the adoption of any guestworker program must be unequivocal.

EXPANDING HISPANIC CONCERNS ON IMMIGRATION/REFUGEE ISSUES

Immigration concerns among Hispanics has traditionally been limited to Mexican Americans. Today, that perception continues. In a March 1984 survey released by the Hispanic Policy Development Project, key Hispanic representatives gave their views on the problems facing Hispanics.[24] Most were in substantial agreement on most problems. Yet, within the various groups, there are significant differences. For example, Mexican Americans ranked the problem of undocumented workers as the number one problem, above unemployment, lower voter participation and education. Neither the Puerto Ricans nor the Cuban community ranked immigration as a top concern.

The composition of the Hispanic immigrant, legal and undocumented, is changing. It behooves all Hispanics to refocus our immigration concerns. Not all undocumented workers are Mexican. An increasing number are coming from Central and South America. To the Cuban community, refugee matters are important. Yet, not all refugees are Cubans. Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans should advocate a more equitable application of the Refugee Act as it relates to Central and South America. In the past, the U.S. has used its refugee policies to punish its perceived enemies and protect its allies without regard to how these foreign governments treat their citizens. For instance, after the bloody 1973 Chilean military coup, over 80,000 refugees fled that country. However, the U.S. only accepted 1300 Chileans.[25] According to the Senate Judiciary Committee report on refugee matters, Argentina has one of the worst human rights situations in Latin America. Yet in 1980, the U.S. only admitted 100 refugees out of a total of 285,000 Argentine refugees.[26] There is a tendency by some Americans to ignore the refugee needs of western hemisphere Hispanics.

Puerto Rico is part of the United States. Because of common linguistic and physical characteristics, the stigma and harassment associated with Mexican American immigrants has often carried over to Puerto Ricans. Accordingly, the plight of the undocumented migrant, whether he or she comes from Mexico, El Salvador, or Guatemala, should be of concern to all Hispanics, including Puerto Ricans. Our ability to educate and influence the American people rests on our own understanding of the

issue and our ability to articulate a united philosophy. Therefore, for the Hispanic community, the Latinization process must incorporate a redefinition of the various Hispanic concerns and we must seek to understand each other's immigration and refugee problems.

MEXICO'S PERSPECTIVE

Throughout history, Mexico's view of attempts by the United States to amend its immigration laws and to curtail illegal migration is that such actions by the United States have been self-centered and impractical. In the first place, Mexicans do not believe that any immigration bill passed by the U.S. will ever be enforced. To them the migration of their people to and from the U.S. is deeply imbedded in the international labor market that unites the two countries. Changes in American enforcement of immigration laws could result in highly unfavorable consequences for the U.S. economy and for U.S.-Mexican relations. These repercussions are seldom discussed in the debate regarding proposed immigration law changes.

It is true that the exodus of Mexicans to the United States has its root in the economic disparity between the two neighboring nations. At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that the economic inequities in Mexico contribute to and are a major factor pushing people out. Most Mexicans coming to the U.S. are the poor and unskilled who have not been provided with meaningful opportunities to earn a decent livelihood in their native land. The inability or unwillingness of Mexico to objectively address the issue must also be carefully scrutinized by Hispanics. Realizing that Mexican migration to the U.S. strikes a sensitive nerve and, thus, is a delicate policy issue, we must nonetheless understand that a resolution of this issue does not rest with the U.S. alone.

Mexico must realize that it, too, has a responsibility to solve this issue. A true bilateral accord cannot be formulated unless both countries understand that it is in their mutual best interests to resolve it. Mexico, for its part, must insist that the U.S. respect the human and labor rights of its citizens. Mexico should not insist on or participate in the creation of a temporary guestworker program. Hispanics, particularly Mexican Americans, have a responsibility to impress upon Mexico that we will oppose efforts to recreate a bracero type program.

U.S. IMMIGRATION POLICY AND HISPANICS AND WESTERN HEMISPHERE RELATIONS

World migration has become an important international concern. The complexity and size of the mass migration of people across international boundaries is taxing already-strained relations between many nations. The Western European industrial nations began facing the problem in the early seventies. Unable to impede or control the circumstances which caused the movement, many Third World nations long have accepted the difficulties of coping with this complex phenomenon. Notwithstanding the recognition by most nations of the disruptions and major economic and social consequences of international migration, the solutions proposed to deal with migration have in most instances failed to stem the movement.

The U.S. has traditionally viewed immigration strictly as a domestic concern. The interests of the nation have been defined and limited to include only internal economic, social and racial concerns. But for an occasional mention of U.S.-Mexico relations, the discussion of the issue has unfortunately remained narrow. Migration to the United States, whether it be legal or illegal, will continue. The proximity of the U.S. to the region, hemispheric political instability, coupled with growing economic inequalities, will increase the flow. For Hispanics, our understanding and involvement in the development of a policy that addresses the underlying causes for the present migratory movement into the U.S. is essential if we are to improve our economic, political and social standing in American society.

The traditional perception that migration to the U.S. was and is primarily caused by economic factors is no longer correct. Conditions in the country of origin are now equally important in determining whether individuals leave home. Some argue that U.S. military policy in many Latin American countries helps maintain oppressive governments and that U.S. business interests in the regions perpetuate economic inequalities. These conditions in turn breed civil wars and unrest which cause people to leave.

Despite the interaction of domestic and foreign policy considerations, the Hispanic community has not sought to integrate foreign affairs into its agenda. For Hispanics this interrelationship must be understood and integrated. Migrants coming from the Western Hemisphere share common linguistic, religious and cultural characteristics. Most settle in the Southwest and live in and alongside our established communities. The new immigrant's ability to integrate into the U.S. economy and society as a whole will depend on the native Hispanic community's ability to influence the manner in which American society perceives and accepts us all.

Much needs to be accomplished to bridge an understanding among the diverse Hispanic groups. For example, the Cuban and Puerto Rican communities must strive to appreciate the dynamics of the longstanding migratory movement of people between the U.S. and Mexico. Mexican Americans must undertake a critical analysis of our history. New answers to old questions need formulation: What has been Mexico's role and response to the massive exodus of its people? What efforts have been made by Mexico to protect its people living in the United States? How has the existing Mexican American community reacted and accepted the new migrant? The analysis should not preoccupy itself at finding fault. There is plenty for everyone.

Moreover, as Americans, it is our responsibility to participate in the development of our foreign policy. Hispanics must expand and incorporate policy considerations that go beyond those traditionally assigned to a politically powerless and economically poor community. The current situation in Central America heightens our responsibility to comprehend, become involved in, and influence our foreign policy.

In conclusion, the Hispanic population is growing in size. Yet numbers alone do not translate into political, economic and social growth. We Hispanics are at the threshold of many changes. As a community we can either seek to understand and influence the forces of change to our advantage, or we can continue as the ever sleeping giant--poor, powerless and misunderstood.

Ours is a great destiny. The manner in which we deal with the immigration issue will shape this destiny.

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9. MENTAL HEALTH

Biographical Sketch of Dr. Juan Ramos

Juan Ramos has been Director, Division of Prevention and Special Mental Health Programs at the National Institute of Mental Health for ten of his 16 years at the National Institute of Mental Health. The Division provides grant and contract funds in research and research training projects in the areas of aging, antisocial and violent behavior, preventive interventions, rape, emergency mental health, and minority group issues.

He has a Master's Degree in Social Work from the University of Southern California and a Ph.D. from the Heller School at Brandeis University.

Originally from Texas, he moved to California where he worked with the Los Angeles County Bureau of Public Assistance, and then for five years with the Santa Clara County Department of Public Welfare as a child welfare worker and later as a supervisor. In Santa Clara County, he was actively involved in community activities, including the Community Service Organization (CSO) and on the Board of Directors of the Santa Clara County Catholic Charities Bureau.

He has been on the Board of Directors of the Family Service Association of America and is currently on the Editorial Board of Social Thought and the Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences.

Biographical Sketch of Celia Gonzalez Torres

Ms. Gonzales Torres combines business, 25 years of marriage, and the experience of raising five successful children with her professional life. Mrs. Torres is an associate of Dr. Helen Mendes, Mendes Consultation Services in Los Angeles. Her clinical experience includes working with the chronically mentally ill, families in crisis, individuals in life transitions, religion relating to mental health issues, and adolescents. She has also conducted workshops on stresses of single parenting, priorities of Hispanic women in the work place, and mentoring for the Latina.

Among the positions she has held are the board memberships of the Richstone Family Center for the Prevention of Child Abuse in Los Angeles County and the Community Action Board for the City of Los Angeles. As a re-entry person to the University of Southern California School of Social Work, she was instrumental in helping organize the Hispanic Caucus. She also is on the Board of Councilors, and advisor to the Dean of the School of Social Work. She is an alumnae and on the Regent's Council of Mount Saint Mary's College as an advisor on Hispanic Women's Issues and Educational Funding. She has served as a consultant to the President of Loyola Marymount College. Her volunteer time has been spent working with issues of employment, economic development, housing, mental health services, child care and child abuse. As Chairperson of the National Board of Directors of the National Network of Hispanic Women, she is dedicated to the development of a national structure linking together Hispanic women in business, education, and civic organizations.

SELECTED TRENDS & DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO THE MENTAL HEALTH STATUS OF THE HISPANIC COMMUNITY

By Dr. Juan Ramos and Celia Gonzalez Torres

There is a growing awareness, sincere concern, and, at times, anguish in the Hispanic** community regarding issues related to mental health and mental illness. The lack of attention by Hispanics to this area has been attributed, in part, to reliance on family and community support, as well as tolerance for pain and suffering, clarity about what mental health entails, negative experiences with mental health services, and the lower priority given this area in contrast to other more critical and better understood areas, such as education, employment, and housing. In the area of education, a recent report compiled by the American Council on Education indicates that approximately 50% of Hispanic students drop out of high school; only 7% of Hispanics finish college, compared to 12% of blacks and 23% of whites; and nearly 18% of Hispanics aged 25 or older are classified as functional illiterates, compared to 10% of blacks and 3% of whites. The unemployment rate grew from 8.3 percent to 13.8 percent during the period 1979 to 1982. The Hispanic umemployment rate was one and one-half times that of non-Hispanics. Home ownership is relatively low among Hispanics. In 1980, fewer than half Hispanic households lived in homes they owned, compared to two-thirds for non-Hispanic households. The trends and developments addressed in this paper have the potential of generating support for mental health within the Hispanic community, as well as in collaboration with the larger society which also needs to give more attention to mental health concerns.

There are estimates that suggest that the total Hispanic population is already close to 25 million persons, and that by the year 2000 it will be over 50 million, and will become the largest ethnic minority population in the country. Within this population data which indicates dramatic growth, there are such populations groups as Mexican-American, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Hispanic groups; socio-economic categories; groups at various levels of acculturation, including recent arrivals; and a large portion of the population under the age of 18. This data has direct implications on the mental health status of the Hispanic population.

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** The terms Hispanic, Mexican-American, and Latino will be used interchangeably in this paper.

The concept of mental health as presented by the President's Commission on Mental Health states, "America's mental health problems cannot be defined only in terms of disabling mental illnesses and identified psychiatric disorders. They must include the damage to mental health associated with unrelenting poverty and unemployment and the institutionalized discrimination that occurs on the basis of race, sex, class, age, and mental or physical handicaps." The Hispanic panel reporting to the President's Commission on Mental Health concluded that the mental health status of Hispanics results directly from the absence of a comprehensive national policy for Hispanic mental health. As to what is the mental health status of the Hispanic population? The panel stated, "Unfortunately, there is little valid and reliable information which is national in scope to directly answer this question. This lack of an adequate data base has resulted from the failure to identify Hispanics as a group in the compilation of epidemiological data and other mental health statistics."

There are, however, beginning efforts to develop a data base on the mental health status of Hispanics. Two such efforts are presented below. One addressing admissions to mental health facilities and the other a major study in psychiatric epidemiology to estimate rates of the prevalence and incidence of mental disorders in the Hispanic population group.

Admissions to Mental Health Facilities

The National Reporting Program operated by the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) periodically collects data on the sociodemographic, clinical, and treatment characteristics of a sample of patients admitted to mental health facilities throughout the United States. The data collection program is operated on a voluntary reporting basis in collaboration with the State mental health agencies. As part of this data collection, information is gathered on race and Hispanic origin of the patients sampled. (See Table 1.)

In 1980, the preponderance of minorities admitted to inpatient psychiatric services were in State and county mental hospitals and non-federal general hospital psychiatric services. Considerably fewer were admitted to private psychiatric hospitals and Veterans Administration Medical Centers. Non-Hispanics accounted for the largest number of minorities admitted to these facilities, followed by Hispanics and all other races (non-Hispanic).

Hispanics were admitted at slightly higher rates than all other races to each facility type, but this rate was considerably below that for blacks. Compared to whites, Hispanics and all other races were admitted to State and county mental hospitals at equivalent rates, and at rates below that for whites for all other facility types.

Epidemiological Catchment Area Studies: Hispanic Sample

The Diagnostic Interview Schedule (DIS) is a structured psychiatric interview questionnaire designed for administration by trained lay interviewers which consists of 260 questions. This instrument is being used in psychiatric epidemiologic studies, including the Epidemiological Catchment Area (ECA) Research Program involving five sites, currently being funded by the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH). The overall ECA research program is a comprehensive study in psychiatric epidemiology to estimate rates of the prevalence and incidence of mental disorders in general populations and to examine mental health care utilization.

The Los Angeles Epidemiological Catchment Area research group developed a Spanish translation of the DIS and tested its usefulness in an outpatient clinical population in East Los Angeles. It was found to achieve levels of reliability and validity at least comparable to the English version.

The Los Angeles ECA is unique among the five sites in its focus on Mexican-Americans. Approximately 3,000 community and 500 institutionalized adults will be sampled in Los Angeles and interviewed using the DIS. It is expected that over half the sample will be of Hispanic background and half of these persons will choose to be interviewed in Spanish.

The significance of carrying out this type of research on Hispanic populations follows from demographic trends indicating a dramatic growth of the Hispanic population group in the United States. Little is known with certainty concerning the prevalence of specific mental disorders among Mexican-Americans, either in treatment settings or in the general population. Given the population trends and the lack of knowledge concerning the epidemiology of psychiatric disorders in the Mexican-American population, the Los Angeles ECA promises to be a timely and important study. There is an obvious need, however, for other instruments that are culturally and linguistically relevant to the Hispanic population. This is an area that Hispanic researchers and clinicians need to eventually address.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF ADMISSIONS[1] TO SELECTED INPATIENT PSYCHIATRIC SERVICES BY RACE & HISPANIC ORIGIN, UNITED STATES, 1980

Race and Hispanic origin	Inpatient psychiatric services			
	State and county mental hospitals	Private psychiatric hospitals	Non-Federal general hospitals	Veterans administration medical centers
	Number			
Total	369,049	141,209	666,300	158,931
White - not Hispanic	247,345	118,376	524,043	120,592
Black - not Hispanic	93,721	16,512	99,049	30,395
All other races - not Hispanic	6,752	1,323	10,191	1,534
Hispanic	21,231	4,998	33,017	6,410
	Percent distribution			
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
White - not Hispanic	67.0	83.8	78.6	75.9
Black - not Hispanic	25.4	11.7	14.9	19.1
All other races - not Hispanic	1.8	0.9	1.5	1.0
Hispanic	5.8	3.5	5.0	4.0
	Rate per 100,000 population[2]			
Total	163.6	62.6	295.3	70.4
White	136.8	63.4	284.9	64.9
Black	364.2	62.9	386.6	118.2
All other races	142.0	29.6	221.7	33.4
Hispanic	160.3	37.7	249.3	48.4

1 Discharges for non-Federal general hospitals. For this setting, admissions and discharges are approximately equivalent because of the short length of stay.

2 Population estimates used as denominators in rate computations are from the Current Population Reports of the Bureau of the Census, Series P-25, No. 361 and Series P-25, No. 929. Admissions/discharges of Hispanic origin are included in the numerators for rate computations for whites, blacks, and all other races to correspond with population data used in the denominators.

The above efforts will provide much needed data on both an assessment of mental health needs, as well as inpatient and outpatient mental health services to Hispanics which could provide the basis and impetus for the development of a national policy on Hispanic mental health. As the Hispanic community gives serious attention to the implications of mental health data as it becomes available, it can lead to joint planning between the Hispanic community and appropriate public and private agencies. Mental health as an important component of health will get the attention that is currently given to education, employment, and housing.

What follows is a brief overview of some trends and developments in selected areas that will contribute to a better understanding of the mental health status of Hispanics and implications for the future.

Recent Organizational Efforts

Hispanic psychiatrists born and raised in this country were a rarity ten years ago. The few who participated in conferences became the first Hispanic psychiatrists to be seen by most of the participants. Today this group is growing and exercising an effective leadership role in their communities, as well as on the national level. Some are heavily involved in both clinical and research roles, bringing a much needed perspective to issues of mental health and illness.

Recently, a symposium, entitled "Psychiatry in Hispano America: An Overview," was held at the University of Illinois at Chicago, sponsored by the American Society of Hispanic Psychiatrists. Participants from Spain, Mexico, Central and South America planned for collaborative efforts in services, training, and research with participants from the United States. Their next symposium will be held in Mexico in 1986, promises to formalize exchanges in a number of areas, especially cross-cultural research.

Five years ago, the First National Conference of Hispanic Psychologists was held. Today there is a growing national organization of approximately 200 Hispanic psychologists called the National Hispanic Psychological Association. The Association holds a meeting in conjunction with the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association.

Over the last 15 years Hispanic social workers and psychiatric nurses have made efforts to organize on state and national levels. Mexican-American social workers established an organization called Trabajadores de la Raza. Only in the Los Angeles area has the effort continued and grown. Mexican American students in Schools of Social Work have assumed leadership in recruitment of students, as well as developing relevant curriculum materials and model service programs. For example, students at the University of Southern California's School of Social Work have organized a Hispanic student caucus, and have raised funds for student scholarships, library materials, and have actively participated in the development of a bilingual, bi-cultural services model. This student organization model is now being tried by Hispanic students at another

School of Social Work.

Multi-disciplinary groups have organized in various communities and held local and state-wide mental health conferences. Among the most active of these organized groups are the Bay Area Spanish Speaking Therapists Association (BASSTA) in San Francisco, the Colorado Institute of Chicano Mental Health, the Chicano Mental Health Task Force in New Mexico, and the Chicano Behavioral Health Coalition in Arizona.

In spite of the above efforts, the number of bilingual, bicultural mental health personnel continues to decline after reaching a peak in the mid-1970s. Given this decline and the dramatic growth and increased projection of the Hispanic population through the year 2000, it suggests a crisis of major proportions impacting on the mental health status of the Hispanic population.

In the area of mental health services, there have been some notable organizational efforts that concentrate on Hispanic communities and their mental health needs. La Frontera Mental Health Center in Tucson; Spanish Peaks Community Mental Health Center in Pueblo; Pilsen-Little Village Community Mental Health Center in Chicago; Latino Outreach in Detroit; Hijos del Sol Project in the San Francisco Bay Area; El Hogar in Sacramento; El Centro Community Mental Health Center in East Los Angeles; and the Spanish Family Guidance Center in Miami represent major efforts in the organization and delivery of mental health services. In spite of the developments in organizing efforts regarding these concerns, they represent only a modest beginning.

An organization devoted to conducting surveys of mental health services, assessment of needs, and research dissemination is the Coalition of Hispanic Mental Health and Human Service Organizations (COSSMHO), located in Washington, D.C. The Coalition is comprised of 300 member organizations serving the Hispanic community. COSSMHO was organized in the early 1970's and initially funded by the National Institute of Mental Health and later by other public and private agencies. It has organized four biannual national Hispanic mental health conferences and is planning its fifth biannual conference entitled Leadership 84: Mobilizing Resources for the Future to be held in Los Angeles.

Hispanic Mental Health Research

A few years ago, a select group of ethnic minority researchers reviewed and critiqued research on ethnic minorities which had been funded by the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration in the period 1972 to 1981. A total of 69 Hispanic projects were reviewed--52 percent focused exclusively on Mexican-Americans, 43 percent on Puerto Ricans, and 5 percent on Cuban-Americans.

The major research themes identified were:

- Development and implementation of mental health services which were consonant with the cultures of the different Hispanic groups.
- Identification and utilization of supportive resources in Hispanic families and communities.
- Relationship of characteristics and dynamics of Hispanic communities to primary prevention and intervention in individuals and families in crisis.
- Relationship of migration to psychological adjustment.
- Relationship of education to psychological adjustment.
- Psychodynamics and sociocultural factors of females who are heads of households.

In a recent issue of the COSSMHO newsletter, "The COSSMHO Reporter," several Hispanic mental health researchers commented on mental health research achievements and made a forecast of future trends. Comments included the importance of culture on personality and its implication for an understanding of pathology as well as for psychosocial interventions; sensitivity to the issue of Hispanic diversity - national origin, demographic profile, socioeconomic status, migration experience, and settlement patterns; impact of language barriers on the evaluation and treatment of Hispanic patients; and the importance of research on acculturation and biculturalism in shedding light on individual and group coping and adaptation strategies. One of the researchers stated that "unfortunately, most of the research efforts in this country have been geared exclusively toward the 'Anglo' population, particularly in biological psychiatry." He adds that to him the field must be influenced such that whatever future research activities are undertaken, a Hispanic sample and,or control group is included. To support the point, he adds that empirical contributions are beginning to appear in the field which tend to suggest that Hispanic populations require lower dosages of neuroleptics and anti-depressant medications in comparision with the Anglo population.

The National Chicano Survey, a major research project funded by NIMH, was recently completed and is now in the dissemination phase. Data was collected from 991 households of Mexican descent in cities within the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Texas, and the city of Chicago. A number of papers have been published in various journals reporting on the highlights of the project and addressing important mental health and related issues. The data set will be released to the Institute of Social Research at the University of Michigan.

Research findings from other studies are being disseminated through books, monographs, a journal--the Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences--and a few thousand articles in other journals bearing directly or peripherally on issues of mental health of Hispanic Americans. Literature reviews

identified 500 articles of varying merit from 1920 to 1972, while between 1973 and 1979 about 1,500 new articles on Hispanic mental health issues appeared. This has had the effect of bringing the mental health needs of the Hispanic community to forums of policy discussion.

Another form of study that is most helpful in understanding Hispanic life are autobiographies and other literary forms such as poetry, biographies, plays and films. An example is Hunger for Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez, an autobiography by Richard Rodriguez, in which he vividly and openly describes individual, family and community life and the interactions with the larger society. This book and others will provide the basis for a better description of Hispanic life, especially in understanding what contributes to mental health and raising the appropriate questions in order to lead to an expanded and useful knowledge base.

Spirituality and Mental Health

In 1980, the National Institute of Mental Health published Religion and Mental Health - A Bibliography, which highlighted developments in mental health research and religious thought. It was felt that those responsible for the mental well being of individuals, regardless of their theoretical orientation or religious beliefs, could benefit from an investigation of the interface between religion and mental health. It was directed, not only at pastoral counselors and therapists of various schools, but to all who were interested in the broad area of religion and mental health. This has direct implications for mental health services to the Hispanic community. While curanderas and espiritistas utilize a religious-oriented approach and continue to provide services as solo providers, in conjunction with mental health professionals, or consultants to programs, a major evaluation of services provided has not taken place. The Hispanic Health Council in Hartford, in a special issue of the journal, Urban Anthropology, describes and analyzes the work of espiritistas, and reports an overall general acceptance by segments of the Hispanic community.

A recent book with relevance to spirituality in the Hispanic community is Galilean Journey: The Mexican-American Promise, by Virgilio Elizondo, a Catholic priest. He compares the Southwestern part of the United States and its mestizo population with Galilee, an area in the Middle East where Jesus was born, and its residents. The characteristics of the population provide an excellent perspective of the Hispanic population and its perception of itself, as well as of others. Theologians and others in ministry are utilizing this book as a guide for understanding the spiritual needs of the Hispanic community.

Another book, Unitas: Hispanic and Black Children in a Healing Community, was titled and developed from Biblical Psalm 133, in which the psalmist proclaims: "How good and noble it is for brothers to live together in unity" or "How wonderful it is, how pleasant for God's people to live together in harmony." To the founder of Unitas, "mental health difficulties involved broken unresolved relationships," and such "divided relationships were signs of divided minds. If people's heads are together,

then you can be a community." Unity, thus, is projected as the goal for humans in their personal lives and their relationships with others.

Even if religion is not practiced through regular or even occasional church attendance, basic religious beliefs and practices such as prayer have been reported to be helpful in time of need and emotional distress. Also, the Hispanic may perceive "suffering" in spiritual terms. It may be viewed as a purging, contributing to joy and peace, and eventually as preparation for gaining eternal life, rather than a source of stress and tension to be alleviated by therapy. The value of Catholic beliefs such as the confessional and the concept of the immortality of the human soul have not been examined. This area, if properly addressed, can yield benefits leading to better mental health services to the Hispanic community.

Women and Mental Health

An emergent subgroup identifiably at risk for psychological distress and, or disorder is the Hispana* in the work force. Whether she is in the factory, the office, in business for herself, at entry level, middle management, or professional, she is at high risk due to a variety of stresses and factors. Frerichs, Aneshensel and Clark (1981) conducted a community survey using the Center for Epidemiologic Studies' depression scale on a multi-ethnic probability sample of 1,003 in Los Angeles County. The prevalence of depression was greater among Hispanics and least among whites, with blacks and other groups reporting intermediate rates.

The impact of job or career pressures and the stresses of daily living in a highly competitive, highly demanding society is compounded for the Hispana, by structural environmental barriers to upward mobility. Unlike her Anglo or Black female counterpart, the Hispana continues as primary caretaker of the familia. She is expected to continue functioning as cook, housekeeper, parent, wife, daughter, as well as godmother, aunt, and comadre. The extended family continues to be a significant part of her life. She is also interacting with first and second generation parents and grandparents who believe that the woman should not work outside the home; that her primary role is that of mother and caretaker; and that jobs or careers are secondary and should not affect or impinge upon her duties as wife and mother. The Hispana takes on two full-time jobs when she decides to take a job or pursue a career and finds herself unsupported and alienated.

The above dynamics point to a variety of stresses impacting the working Hispana due primarily to living in cultural dualism, and being in a state of psycho-socio-economic transition. Her being at risk of psychological distress, mental disorders, health related problems, and ultimately, loss of functioning on the job and at home are compounded by her dual roles and

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* The term Hispana denotes the Hispanic woman.

responsibilities. She is a working person as well as caretaker, living in a dual culture which expects uncompromised performance in both arenas. In addition, conflicts in values resulting from upward mobility, acculturation and attempts at assimilation take their toll on the mental and physical health of the Hispana and, ultimately, also on those dependent on her.

The implications are widespread and deleterious if the self-esteem and the needs of the Hispanic woman are not acknowledged. Thus, a variety of factors influencing her ability not only to continue functioning, but also to continue growing as a healthy productive member of the society at large, must be considered. Creative support systems and resources to augment the capacity and potential of this valuable human resource must be developed by both the public and private sectors. Some suggestions to address this situation are:

- Providing child care services in job settings
- Increasing mental health coverage
- Increasing the availability of bicultural adult education in such areas as parenting skills, communication skills, stress reduction programs, and assertiveness training
- Initiating bicultural programs on disease prevention and promotion of mental health through the media.

Recent efforts have developed by Hispanas to address directly their own needs. One such development is the National Network of Hispanic Women which acts as a catalyst to strengthen existing organizations, individual talents, and resources. Networking and mentoring activities enable organizations and individuals to share similar goals and mutual concerns. This process is an empowering one, the effects of which overflow to the organizations and beyond. The individual self-image is enhanced, thus infusing the social environment with energy and information toward a better quality of life.

Conferences of Hispanic women in urban areas have attracted substantial numbers and have been a dramatic example of the willingness and readiness of the Latina to address her felt needs, as well as the needs of the community at large. In one year alone, conferences such as Mujer Unidas in Phoenix drew 1,000 participants, Adelante Mujer in Denver drew 1,000 and the Hispanas Unidas: La Fuerza de San Antonio in San Antonio drew 1,200, which amply demonstrates the magnitude of the efforts which go beyond the local level and will have impact on the national level. As a consequence, successful family and career-oriented women have generated a new role model reflecting resilience, courage, and resourcefulness to the community. Their expertise, not formerly recognized, is useful and needed in areas of leadership and entrepreneurship. The emergence of Hispanic women's organizations throughout the country is a sign of an energetic and dynamic movement that needs to be recognized and supported.

The growth and progress of "Women's Employment and Education Model" (WEEM) is an example of the molding of an individual's expertise to

develop a program addressing a social need. This development marks a significant movement for women in the work force. Women are concerned with their children's right to live in a growth-producing environment. They seek to provide a family life with an adequate economic base conducive to their children's positive functioning. Dr. Mary C. Howell reports that self-esteem is the crux of the connection between paid work and mothering. She states, "It is clear that we are most effective in promoting the self-esteem of another when we can genuinely identify and value our own worth. If we are fortunate in our paid work, we find our self-esteem enhanced by appropriate promotions and salary increases, praise and recognition, responsibilities and rewards." For the Hispana, self-esteem is often an issue from early years; this is due to exposure to devaluation of her culture by the larger society. Later there are conflicts in self-esteem arising from the structural environmental barriers, and tokenism. Hispanic women recognize this erosion of self-esteem and have initiated a systematic plan to help themselves. These women strive to make family life and the community environment inclusive of opportunities for their children to fully develop their potential.

Entrepreneurship

The absence of an infrastructure and social institutions in the Hispanic community such as hospitals and colleges which incorporate relevant cultural values and themes is a critical problem. The challenge of developing appropriate institutional strategies faces all who claim to be knowledgeable and sensitive to cultural differences. Is it possible to establish and develop mechanisms with the available resources? What about a blueprint and agenda to reach that goal within this generation?

The concept of "entrepreneurship" as an incentive and vehicle for providing necessary and culturally relevant mental health services within the community is a relatively new idea. It requires serious exploration and attention. It can be seen as a way to create new jobs via existing "natural resources" within the community, augment incomes, and utilize the skills and services of bilingual/bicultural mental health and other professionals. Most importantly, it will serve to enhance a sense of pride and self-worth to the entire community through self-help and "peace of mind" in knowing that culturally sensitive services are being provided. Self-help and community improvement activities have no limit-creativity, talent, and good will reside in Hispanic communities. There is, however, a lack of credible mechanisms to tap the available resources. There is, in most communities, an active group of business-oriented Hispanics who can direct their economic ventures to the well-being of the Hispanic community. This, coupled with the existing human resources in the community, can effectively respond to the increasing need for bicultural, bilingual services in mental health facilities.

This concept can be applied to the increasing needs of the elderly and the lack of services and resources available to provide for their care. Utilizing the concept of "natural resources" and creating entrepreneurial ventures, a response to this need would be the establishment and coordination of small group homes with a services component to enable the elderly to remain in the community. These homes might be pre-

existing, meaning that an elderly person may already own the home or jointly acquire a home with several other elderly persons in need of care. The individuals sharing such a household may be related or may be friends in need of supportive services, home health care, and most importantly, in need of peer companionship. An adult person would be utilized as "administrator" for the services to the elderly. The "administrator" would be responsible for obtaining, coordinating and managing the services needed by the household. A woman who has never worked outside her home and has grown children who are no longer in need of constant supervision may find new meaning in her life by utilizing her skills and talents to earn an income and at the same time provide a much needed service. She would provide for the daily needs such as meals, housekeeping assistance in obtaining professional services, as well as being aware of idiosyncratic and cultural needs including special foods, celebration of holidays and special days in culturally relevant ways. All will benefit from this venture.

The elderly persons in such a family group will find benefits from this arrangement, in addition to peace of mind and the satisfaction of interacting with peers in a functional, healthy manner. This may also serve to provide after-school childcare for the grandchildren of these families. The grandchildren would benefit from interactions with their abuelitos. The elderly would feel useful and needed by their families and gain stimulation by interacting with their grandchildren. The adult children will know their parents are well cared for in a manner that is congruent with the cultural values.

Other more complex ventures involve initial start-up costs, the expertise of various professions such as architects, attorneys, and psychiatrists, and the responsiveness of both the patient population, licensing agencies, and third party payers. Currently a number of facilities are being discussed, planned, and in some cases, already being reviewed by appropriate accrediting and authorizing agencies.

A handful of Hispanic organizations have built facilities. The El Centro Mental Health Center in East Los Angeles recently broke ground on construction of homes for the elderly. The design and establishment of mental health service centers, day care centers, nursing homes, hospices, centers for senior citizens, residential treatment facilities for children and adults, long-term care facilities, and half-way houses can be a reality. The building blocks are available in some communities, and thus, such facilities are within reach.

There is a need to reconsider the market value of mental health services and begin to invest in creative ways to maximize benefits. There can also be an attractive component to a human services model which allows for a margin of profit as an incentive. Entrepreneurs can be attracted, and it is possible to blend both good business practices and efficient services. Continued investment within the Hispanic community becomes a crucial component in building the capacity and infrastructure for, a nurturing role by the community. This in turn is conducive to building a society which is more productive and experiences better mental health.

well as other professionals in human services.

- A more thorough study of Hispanic women is needed to better understand their "role in transition." Appropriate social support should be provided to promote the well-being of the family.

- In-depth studies are needed of the ways that individuals and organizations can respond to the needs of the elderly and other sub-groups via entrepreneurship. Tax policy and related incentives can enable the private sector to invest in this area where the demand for services will increase.

This hopefully is a start for those interested in the mental health of the Hispanic population group. This agenda of recommendations is designed to lead to effective improvement of the overall mental health of society.

Implications and Recommendations for the Future

It is difficult to project some of the mental health trends and developments to be expected in the future. It is an understatement to say that the situation will worsen if research data is ignored. Some efforts across the country give cause for optimism; moreover, others are evolving with some noticeable momentum. There is a sense of a community on the move, based on discernable developments, as well as those being discussed as next steps.

The implications and recommendations that follow are made with the hope that they might be turning or determining points in the state of Hispanic America's mental health.

- A better breakdown by State hospitals of data on the number of institutionalized Hispanic mentally ill would provide a basis for planning and program development. Initiating state policy to that effect can enable the systematic collection and analysis of such data.

- There is a need to follow up on the findings and implications of the study under way in Los Angeles utilizing a Spanish language version of the Diagnostic Interview Schedule (DIS). The current work with the Spanish DIS suggests a trend among investigators to develop assessment instruments which are linguistically and socio-culturally appropriate. There is a need for more extensive evaluation of the appropriateness of the DIS and other similar instruments. This may lead to development of a more relevant policy addressing bilingual and bicultural mental health services.

- Not enough can be said of the crisis relating to the lack of and declining numbers of Hispanic mental health professionals. This, coupled with the growing Hispanic population, cries out for national attention. National policy should call for the collection and analysis of data on mental health professionals, and lead to national initiatives to increase the number of Hispanic mental health professionals.

- The need to address biological psychiatry, and specifically, the neuro-sciences, is critical. Its importance to the Hispanic community is two-fold: it has implications for diagnosis and treatment of the mentally ill, as well as implications regarding the training of researchers. Policy should set out objectives which through the funding process requires research agencies to include Hispanic samples where appropriate in major research endeavors.

- Development of new instruments which are culture fair is needed, and existing ones should be assessed for cultural bias. Legislation may need to be developed regarding this area.

- Hispanic literature and the arts should be utilized in designing curriculum for schools preparing mental health professionals, as

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